"VASUDHAIVA KUṬUMBAKAM"

PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL SANSKRIT CONFERENCE

Volume II, Part II

EDITED BY
PROF. V. RAGHAVAN
Chairman, Academic Sub-Committee



Ministry of Education and Social Welfare,
Government of India, New Delhi, India.

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MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA, NEW DELHI, INDIA

March 26th-31st, 1972
Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi

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PAPERS OF SECTION TWO, PART - TWO

Sanskrit and other Languages and Literatures of India
and the World and their Thought and Culture

The Heritage of different branches of Sanskrit Literature
and their National and International Significance

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PREFACE

The first World Sanskrit Conference was held under the authority and auspices of the Government of India from March 26th to 31st, 1972 in the Vigyan Bhavan, New Delhi. I had the honour, as Chairman of the Academic Sub-Committee, of organising the academic work of the Conference. In view of the special character and purpose of the Conference, the wide perspective and the particular focus aimed at, the subjects were framed in four Sections and contributions invited from scholars and participants from all over India and the world. Schedules of subjects were drawn for the four main Sections and invitations issued to chosen scholars who had made significant contributions in those subjects. Because of the enthusiasm that the Conference evoked in the country, it become necessary to accept papers from numerous scholars who sent their voluntary contributions and add a fifth Section of miscellaneous papers on diverse topics of research and also a Session devoted solely to Pundits and their Sanskrit papers.

The Sections and the subjects dealt with at the Conference were :

I. Contribution of Different Areas and Countries to Sanskrit.

Development of Sanskrit Studies in different Areas and Countries.

II. Sanskrit and Other Languages and Literatures of India and the World on their Thought and Culture.

The Heritage of Different Branches of Sanskrit Literature and their National and International Significance.

III. Sanskrit and Archaeology, Arts and Education, Sanskrit and Science and Technology, Sanskrit and World Languages, Literatures, Thought and Culture, Sanskrit and Man, Universalism and Peace, Sanskrit and Western Literature and Criticism, Sanskrit in the Modern World.

IV. Papers on diverse topics of Sanskrit Language, Literature, Thought and Culture.

V. Paṇḍita Pariṣad.

Books of Summaries of the papers of the Sections were prepared in advance and placed in the hands of the participants. It was one of the largest of scholarly Conferences and about 600 papers were presented.

The arrangements for the printing of the Proceedings and the papers of the Conference could be made only in 1973. Owing to the paucity of Presses which could handle Sanskrit and Indological research material, diacritical marks, Devanāgarī matter etc. and to the difficult labour situation in the Presses, the printing could not be speeded up. Printing was arranged concurrently in two different places, Madras and Delhi, and in three different Presses.

Volume II of the Papers was taken up by the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan of the Ministry for printing in Delhi. In view of the large number of papers of this Section, it was decided to issue this volume in two parts and Part II is also now brought out.

I must express my thanks to Hon. Sri. D.P. Yadav, Deputy Minister of Education, Dr. R.K. Sharma and Sri P.C. Sharma, the former and present Directors of the Rashtiya Sanskrit Samsthan. I must thank Dr. J. Ganguly, Deputy Director (Academic), Dr. Madhusudan Mishra, Asstt. Director (CC), and Dr. Miss Amita Gupta of the Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan for looking after the Press work in Delhi. I must also mention Dr. S.S. Janaki who has been assisting me here, in Madras, in the work of this Conference.

V. RAGHAVAN
Chairman, Academic Sub-Committee

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SANSKRIT, PRĀKRITS & APABHRAṀŚA

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To assess properly the literary heritage of India, one has to take into account three streams of languages, Sanskrit, Prākrits and Apabhraṁśa. These are called streams, because each stream has multiple currents showing distinctions based on time, place, religious background, social environment, etc. Their flow is usually parallel and with mutual influence. They have their predominance often in religious but now and then in secular spheres, in different social strata and are used for specific purposes. A proper understanding of these factors gives a correct perspective of the rise and growth of New Indo-Aryan languages in different areas.

The earliest specimen of what in its later evolved form came to be called Sanskrit is the *Ṛgveda*, a collection of hymns (possibly of different periods) containing sacred poetry cultivated by families of priests in different localities. The language, though close to the earliest Iranian, can be distinguised from it on account of its striking features. It is a literarised idiom; and it obviously presumes dialectal variations in contemporary speeches of the priestly classes. With the shifting of the localities and handling of the speech by alien families of priests, gradual phonetic and morphological changes crept into later Saṁhitās and Brāhmaṇas. Still the priest took pride in its pure preservation. Grammarians, even prior to Pāṇini, must have helped the process of change, as well as of continuity, by laying down, from time to time, the standard norm of the correct speech: errors of speech were a sin which needed a sacrifice for its expiation. Such a purified and standardised speech is Sanskrit, as the *Rāmāyaṇa* first mentions it.

By the time of Munitraya, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali (150 B.C.), a good deal of the Vedic speech had become obsolete, undergone changes due to indigenous influences and needed regularisation. At the same time much that was *apaśabda*, as

current in the common classes of people, had to be eschewed before the norms of Sanskrit were finalised by them. They are aware of usages in different localities and priestly circles. After all this remained a language of the classes, priests and paṇḍitas, used in rituals and learned discussions, and as such cultivated on puritanic lines and guarded as a cultural preserve, to begin with. Thus has been viewed the emergence of Classical Sanskrit. The Śiṣṭas laid its norm; and they were Brāhmaṇas of Āryāvarta. Once Sanskrit became the language of learning and elegant poetry, of theology and philosophy, learned people of different religions vied with each other in using it for different purposes and in various fields of study with the result that the Sanskrit literature became a proud heritage of our nation. The international aspect of Sanskrit lies in its being a rich representative of the Indo-Aryan family; and its fertile growth has extended its influence even beyond the boundaries of India.

The study of Sanskrit grammar is something sacred. The precision with which the Sūtras were composed, the elaborate discussions of commentators on minute details and the dedication with which grammars and lexicons were memorised are all a marvellous feat in literary history.

In the vast realm of Sanskrit literature what catches one is the Kāvya form. It has reached a highly polished shape in the hands of Kālidāsa, though he had his predecessors in Aśvaghoṣa etc. He is followed by Bhāravi, Kumāradāsa, Māgha, Amaru, Jayadeva and others in its *śravya* branch and by Bhavabhūti, Harṣa etc. in its *dṛśya* form. They were master minds, adept in the use of a language rich in vocabulary, subtle in sense and sonorous in metres. During the Gupta period Sanskrit attained redoubled bloom, both in literature and inscriptions. In the hands of authors like Bāṇa, Subandhu etc. the Sanskrit style assumed a pedantic luxuriousness more to be wondered at than to be easily understood. The two great epics, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, which reflect the various currents and cross-currents of Indian life, thoughts and aspirations are more popular than pedantic in style. The *Mahābhārata*, especially, preserves many popular idioms, not easily admitted in classical Sanskrit.

In didactic and gnomic poetry, in historical Kāvya, in Campūs, Fables etc., one comes across not only fine pieces of poetry but also a fund of worldly wisdom. Poetics grew as a special branch of study. Budding poets had to master it. The critics of poetry excelled each others in the mysteries of *dhvani*, *rasa*, *alaṃkāras* cet. Once Sanskrit became the language of learning, treatises on

Dharmaśāstra, Arthaśāstra, Kāmaśāstra, Vaidyaka, Jyotiṣa, Gaṇita etc. were all composed in Sanskrit. Manuals for practical use were also compiled in different parts of the country. It is in the exposition (in a Nyāya style) of different Darśanas that eminent authors like Diṅnāga and Dharmakīrti, Haribhadra and Akalaṅka, Śaṅkara and Rāmānuja (to mention only a few) have enriched Sanskrit language so effectively in the middle ages that it flowered as a language par excellence, not bound by the limits of any religion or creed. In its long career, Sanskrit has projected extensive literary activities almost in every department of contemporary knowledge, in arts and sciences, and in literature and philosophy. It has served as a model for the other languages in the country which are obviously influenced by it in various ways.

Prākṛts are to be distinguished from Sanskrit. They represent the commoner's speech which he uses without special instruction in or special reference to grammar. They are the natural speeches of the masses as against the pure and polished idiom of the educated. Their roots go back to the spoken dialects contemporary with the Vedic language which preserves certain forms not known to classical Sanskrit but found in Prākrits only. That only means that Sanskrit and Prākrits are parallel currents, one highly standardised and others left to themselves till they were literarised by the exigencies of time.

The broad linguistic traits of Prākṛts can be marked out as distinguished from Sanskrit. All words end in vowels only ; vowels like ṛ and ḷ and diphthongs like *ai* and *au* are lost ; three sibilants are reduced to one ; conjuncts become either duplicates or simplified by anaptysis : a duplicate consonant is preceded by a short vowel ; phonetic changes affect the declensional and verbal forms ; dual is gone ; the distinction of Parasmai—and Ātmane-pada is not there ; the number of conjugations is reduced to one or two depending on the vowel-ending ; and verbal formations are very much reduced. There get introduced words which are non-Sanskritic in origin and are called Deśī.

The Gaṇapāṭha and Dhātupāṭha of Pāṇini clearly indicate how Prākṛt forms were taken over and made seemingly Sanskrit, just as, in technical subjects, many foreign words have been given Sanskrit garb with great skill and ingenuity. Patañjali's illustrations of *apaśabda* can be traced in Prākṛt and Pāli usages : that only shows that, even when Sanskrit was being standardised, there were areas where Prākṛts were used.

As far as we know, the earliest to use Prākṛts were Mahāvīra and Buddha who preached to the masses at large in some dialects of

Magadha, which, in their later literarised forms are preserved as Ardha-Māgadhī and Pāli. Those teachers who went to the masses could not but use the languages of the commoners : that is how they could effectively impart instructions in religion, morality and worldly wisdom at large. Then the earliest deciphered inscriptions in India are of Aśoka (3rd century B. C.), and they are in Prākṛt. They show regional variations, at least of four zones, and are not standardised like later literary Prākṛts. But a closer study shows some correspondence with later dialects like Māgadhī, Ardha-Māgadhī etc. In a way they supply a systematic survey of several actual speeches. King Khāravela in the East (2nd century B. C.) and Sātavāhanas in the South also used Prākṛts in their inscriptions. The use of Prākṛts continued in inscriptions almost up to the 4th century A. D. Sanskrit became more popular, under the Śakas, from the 2nd century A. D. in epigraphs, though it was noticed even earlier. For coin legends, however, Prākṛt was more favoured. Linguistically the material from Prākṛt inscriptions has great value for the study of Middle Indo-Aryan. The obvious object of these records is to address and serve the purpose of commoners ; but it is doubtful how far the commoners who spoke Prākṛts were able to read the inscriptions. Naturally, Sanskrit became more popular from the Gupta period, because it could be read by those who knew Sanskrit.

One of the works, the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya was in Paiśācī Prākṛt. It was as much important as the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, because many themes from it are used in dramas etc. Though the original is lost, some Sanskrit adaptations of it are preserved in Sanskrit. The *Vasudevahiṇḍī*, in Prākṛt (or to be more precise, in Old Jaina Māhārāṣṭrī) is looked upon as a Jaina adaptation of the *Bṛhatkathā*.

The canonical works of the Jainas and Buddhists are in Ardha-Māgadhī and Pāli ; and their value for the religious and cultural history of our land in the early centuries of the Christian era cannot be over-emphasised. As to the Pāli literature, there are the texts of the Tipiṭaka and non-canonical texts like the *Milinda-pañha* ; and then there are their elaborate commentaries by eminent authors like Buddhaghoṣa. The Jātaka tales have their special place in Indian literature. Buddhist authors have developed a mixed Sanskrit, apart from their works in regular Sanskrit. That the best Sanskrit lexicon, namely the *Amarakośa*, was composed by a Buddhist author clearly shows how the Buddhist authors made serious efforts to master Sanskrit. Likewise, there are the Jaina canonical texts in Ardha-Māgadhī, Aṅgas, Upāṅgas etc. On some of these we have Nijjutti, Cūrṇī and Bhāṣya commentaries (like the

Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya etc.) in Prākrit. The Sanskrit commentaries came to be written much later, say in the 8th century A. D. or so. The *Dhavalā* etc. commentaries use both Prākṛt and Sanskṛt in their exposition. There are the procanonical texts composed by authors like Kundakunda, Vaṭṭakera, Śivārya etc. ; they wrote in what is called Jaina Śaurasenī ; and this tradition continued almost upto the 11th or 12th century, mostly in the South.

The Prākṛts have been rich in popular poetry right from the beginning ; and this is testified by collections like the *Gāhākoso* of Hāla. This is an anthology of select verses put together from a larger number of them current in society. Its influence on Sanskrit poetry has been immense, and for works on Alaṃkāra it has been a milch cow for quotations.

That the Prākṛts constituted the speech of the commoners is borne out in various ways. In the dramas, kings, Brahmins and persons of high status use Sanskrit, while inferior characters (including women) are made to speak Prākṛts. Later on, it became a convention, but its roots are to be found in the social fact that Prākṛts were languages of the *prākṛta-jana*. Inferiority arose out of sex, social rank, birth, profession etc. Kālidāsa makes Sarasvatī address Śiva in Sanskrit, but Pārvatī in an easier language, obviously Prākṛt, as the commentator understands. This explains why Prākṛts are used in dramas along with Sanskrit—a reflex of what must have been the pattern in society. It is interesting to note the proportion of Prākṛt passages in the play (lately worked out in a paper read at the Bombay Seminar in Prākṛt Studies). The major dramas of Bhāsa have equal proportion of Sanskrit and Prākṛt. In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* the portion of Prākṛts exceeds that of Sanskrit by 24%. Kālidāsa and Harṣa have 52% Sanskrit and 48% Prākṛt. Of course, there are about half a dozen Saṭṭakas known to us, the earliest one among the available being the *Kappūramamjarī* of Rājaśekhara : they are written wholly in Prākṛt. The popular appeal of the *dṛśya-kāvya* and its being a reflex of the society cannot be ignored : that is why Prākṛts have a significant share in the dramas, though their linguistic nature has become artificial for obvious reasons. As contrasted with Prākṛts in the inscriptions, the Prākṛts in the drama have a regular phonology and morphology ; and what is called Māhārāṣṭrī, the best Prākṛt, is more uniform in its grammatical make-up.

As to some significant layers in Prākṛt literature, there are Dharma-kathās, Caritas etc. mostly in what is called Jaina-Mahārāṣṭrī. Some of the outstanding works like the *Paümacariü* of Vimala, *Vasudevahiṇḍī* of Dharmadāsa, *Samarāiccakahā* of Haribhadra, *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana, *Mahāvīracariya* of Guṇacandra are specimens of this vast literature.

There are stylistic Kāvyas in Prākṛt like the *Rāvaṇavaho* of Pravarasena, the *Gaüḍavaho* of Vākpati and the *Līlāvaī* of Kutūhala. They are the Prākṛt counterparts of the Sanskrit Kāvyas, addressed to an expert audience and full of poetic imagery and effective expression. This tradition lingered in the South as late as the 18th century A. D. Authors like Rāmapāṇivāda studied Prākṛt grammar and composed poems in Prākṛt quite worthy of their poetic talents.

As the Prākṛts were literarised and employed in literature, more or less on the model of Sanskrit, the spoken idiom of the commoner was evolving in its own way, and that too like Prākṛt, came to be given a status of literary language called Apabhraṁśa to be distinguished from Sanskrit and Prākṛt. It is primarily a literary language, not to be identified with *deśa-bhāṣās*, a fact now well borne out by certain passages and references which have lately come to light from the *Kuvalayamālā* of Uddyotana (779 A. D.). Hemacandra is perhaps the first Prākṛt grammarian to give an exhaustive description of Apabhraṁśa along with plenty of illustrative quotations which presume a rich crop of Apabhraṁśa literature prior to his times. Earlier Bhāmaha and Daṇḍin mention Apabhraṁśa ; and according to the latter, it is a term applied to the speech of Ābhīras etc. Apabhraṁśa forms (obviously from the popular speech) constantly intrude into Prākṛt compositions like the *Paümacariü* of Vimala ; and some scholars are of the view that the Apabhraṁśa songs put in the mouth of the King in the *Vikramorvaśīyam* are the genuine composition of Kālidāsa himself. Guhasena of Valabhī (*c.* 559-69 A. D.) is said to have composed poems in three languages : Sanskrit, Prākṛt and Apabhraṁśa. Ānandavardhana (c. 850 A. D.) and Rudraṭa illustrate Apabhraṁśa. The basis of Apabhraṁśa is Prākṛt, Māhārāṣṭrī or Śaurasenī, but as it was a spoken dialect, to begin with, it seems to have been popularised by Ābhīras etc., first in Western India, Rajasthan and Gujarat, from which area it gradually spread eastward through the literary efforts of bards, epic poets, mystic saints and popular singers. It shows regional variations ; but in fact, a sufficiently common literary speech like the Apabhraṁśa deserves to be presumed from which gradually grew different New Indo-Aryan languages in different areas and in course of time.

There are reasons to believe that Apabhraṁśa, as a literary language, was quite current as early as the 6th, if not the 5th century A.D. Some of the mystic songs by Jaina and Buddhist saints may be as old as the 7th century A.D. Caturmukha's works have not come down to us. He is mentioned by later Apabhraṁśa epic poets with great respect. Then follow a series of eminent Apabhraṁśa poets like Svayambhū, Puṣpadanta (959 A.D.), Dhavala,

Dhanapāla, Haribhadra, Sādhāraṇa, Kanakāmara, Vīra, Nayanandi, Abdul Rehman, Raidhū and others who have composed a large literature in Apabhraṁśa consisting of bulky epics, big and small Caritas and poems. What is so far published is only a small fraction of what remains still in Mss. Some of these works were being composed as late as the Mughal period, even after the New Indo-Aryan came to be a well-formed literary idiom (say, Hindi from the 12th century, Marathi from the 13th century and Gujarati a little later). Svayambhū and Puṣpadanta carried on their literary activities in the South : Sādhāraṇa wrote in Gujarat ; and some later poets wrote in Delhi and Gwalior. Justice cannot be done to the evaluation of Apabhraṁśa literature in a short space : it opens a new style in expression, metres and imagery. The bulk of it is metrical, and very little prose in Apabhraṁśa has come to light. In fact Sanskrit poets like Somadeva, Jayadeva etc. seem to imitate the Apabhraṁśa style here and there, in their Sanskrit composition.

The linguistic nature of Apabhraṁśa is sufficiently clear now. The value of vowel length is often uncertain ; a good deal of liberty is seen in using any vowel for any other ; and some of them are nasalised. Some conjunct groups like *pr*, *vr* are used in some Mss., and this is recognised by grammars too. As in Śauraseni, softening of consonants is seen in some cases. The morphology of the language is reduced to the minimum : we have mostly three types of endings, *a*, *i* and *u*. The distinction between Mas. and Neu. is disappearing, and these differ slightly from Feminine. The number of cases is being reduced ; and this comes very near to what we find in the New Indo-Aryan. The verbal system is being simplified. The Gerund and Infinitive of purpose have become identical. The syntax is losing its rigour, and post-positions are appearing with remnants of the case forms. Conjunction like *ya* is being replaced by a pronoun like *aṇṇa*, and the number of Deśī words is fast on the increase. All these factors bring Apabhraṁśa (which in its later form in Eastern India is called Avahaṭṭa or Avahaṭṭaya) very near to the dawn of Modern Indo-Aryan, the history of which can be worked out only with the study of Prākṛts and Apabhraṁśa which have been at the basis of New Indo-Aryan. Vocabulary from any language can be grafted anywhere : that is how one has to look at Sanskrit words which gradually increase in some of the New Indo-Aryan languages.

SANSKRIT AND THE LANGUAGES OF MODERN INDIA

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The late Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Hara Prasad Shastri (1853-1931), one of the great Sanskrit scholars, historians and archaeologists of the 19th-20th centuries, used to say that Sanskrit scholars in Bengal in his younger days studied and wrote only Sanskrit, although they spoke Bengali as their mother-tongue. When they spoke or wrote Bengali they used the language such as they found it, and except in some rare instances, they would not normally try to use a highly Sanskritised vocabulary. Besides, usually they were not at all careful about orthography and grammar, and even Sanskrit words they would write in a careless manner making mistakes in spelling. Of course Sanskrit scholars in Bengal who had a literary feel paid some attention to their mother-tongue Bengali, and they strove to write correctly, and they naturally used a highly Sanskritised vocabulary to make up for the comparative poverty of the language for words of high ideas. Hara Prasad Shastri used to tell us that the average *pandit* generally referred to Bengali as *Prākṛt*, and their idea was that Bengali as a Prākṛt speech was just a debased form of Sanskrit--it was not a separate or distinct language. This was a continuation of the old idea, which was current in India for centuries, that Prākṛt, the spoken vernaculars as well as literary languages based on them, and Sanskrit the higher language, were but two different *pāṭhas* or recensions or alternative forms of one single speech, the norm being presented by Sanskrit; and the various Prākṛts were just aberrations from the norm of this higher speech. We find a similar view expressed in the *Ukti-Vyakti-Prakaraṇa* or the *Treatise on the Manifestation of Speech* (as it may be translated — the author explains it as *ukteḥ*

bhāṣitasya vyaktim prakaṭīkaraṇam), Dāmodara Paṇḍita, author of this work, a work teaching Sanskrit on the basis of the vernacular and compiled during the first half of the 12th century when the Aryan language had already entered into its New Indo-Aryan or *Bhāṣā* stage, considered the spoken language of his time in North India to be just a form of the Sanskrit speech covered or overlaid by the Apabhraṁśa way of speaking (*ukteḥ bhāṣitasya vyaktim prakaṭī-karaṇam vidhāsyāmaḥ. Apabhraṃśa-bhāṣācchannām Saṃskṛta-bhāṣām prakāśayiṣyāma ity arthaḥ*, as he explains in his first *kārikā* himself :(edn. in Singhi Jaina Series, No. 39, 1953, p. 1 of Commentary). Elsewhere, in his commentary to Kārikā 6, he expresses an opinion which shows he was conscious of the vernacular being derived out of Sanskrit. He says : *yeyaṃ sarva-jana-sādhāraṇa-bhāṣā ... ... sā ca saṃskṛta bhāṣām ucchidya pravṛttā ... ... yāṃ Saṃskṛta-bhāṣām ucchidya yā'pabhraṃśa-bhāṣā pravṛttā, tasyāḥ sthāne yadā saiva saṃskṛta-bhāṣā punaḥ parivartya prayujyate, tadā' pabhraṃśa-bhāṣaiva divyatvam prāpnoti : patitā brāhmaṇī kṛta-prāyaścittā brāhmaṇītvam iti ceti* : "this language which is current among all people — that too has come into existence by breaking out of the Sanskrit speech. The Apabhraṁśa speech which has been set up by breaking up as it were the Sanskrit language, if in its place that same Sanskrit language by restoring it again is employed, then that selfsame Apabhraṁśa speech attains to its god-like or sacred (Sanskrit) character. A degraded Brāhmaṇa woman by undergoing penance indeed attains to her status as a Brāhmaṇī". Again, in his commentary to *Kārikā* 7, we have : *yāny eva Saṃskṛta-bhāṣāyām sup-tiṅ-antāni padāni, tāny evā' pabhraṃśe'pi, na cārthe manāg api bhedaḥ. Kevalam akṣareṣu viparyayaḥ, tad-vaśācca kṛtaveśānaṭīvā' pabhraṃśā-cchannā Saṃskṛta-bhāṣā na lakṣyate-akṣarāṇyathā-tve hi katamasy-āpabhraṃśasya sthāne katamat saṃskṛtam padam iti aniścayat, akṛta-saṅketasyāśakyānu-ṣṭhāna eva, tasmād apabhraṣṭa-tve' pi yaḥ saṃskṛta-padasyāvyabhicāri-dharmaḥ, sa kathyata ity arthaḥ, tena ca jñātena ye'pabhraṃśa-śabdā yeṣām kriyā-kāraka-sambandha-vācinām saṃskṛta-śabdānām sthāne jātas, teṣām sthāne tat-prayoge saṁskṛtam pravartata eva* : The inflected noun and verb forms which are in the Sanskrit language, these are in Apabhraṁśa also, and there is not the slightest difference in sense. There is only modification in the syllables : and through this, the Sanskrit language cannot be seen when it is covered up by Apabhraṁśa, like a dancing girl in costume. The ascertaining of what Sanskrit vocable is there in the place of a particular Apabhraṁśa expression, with this diversity of syllables, is indeed not capable of being made in the case of one who has not studied the indications. Therefore, in spite of the

Apabhraṁśa character of the speech, the unchanging nature of the Sanskrit word which exists is discussed : this is the purport. When that is known, viz. what Apabhraṁśa words have been derived from what Sanskrit words indicating action or case or connexion, by putting those proper words in their places, Sanskrit is restored."

This work of Dāmodara was pedagogical in its purpose, seeking to teach simple Sanskrit through a North Indian vernacular speech, which is a New Indo-Aryan speech; and as a later development of Old Indo-Aryan, this vernacular speech could be looked upon as an offspring of Sanskrit, in a general way. The New Indo-Aryan speech as used by Dāmodara is a kind of early Kosali or Awadhi : it was the same language as that of Tulasidasa, but some 400 years older

The above quotation, with the observation of a medieval *pandit* who began his Sanskrit studies in the traditional way, like Hara Prasad Shastri of the present age, indicates what the popular notion has been all through about the relationship between Sanskrit and the Middle and New Indian Aryan Languages. The Modern or New Indo-Aryan Languages were all born in the lap of Sanskrit, and the intimate relationship between a Middle Indo-Aryan and a New Indo-Aryan speech and Sanskrit as Old Indo-Aryan was obvious, excepting of course for a number of foreign words (Perso-Arabic, and English and other European for New Indo-Aryan) and another group of unexplained words which were known to the Old Indian Grammarians as *Deśī* and which are generally looked upon as being of pre-Aryan origin, which were adopted into the later forms of the Aryan language.

The position of Sanskrit on the Indian scene has been quite remarkable. But it has not been unique. There are parallels in other groups of languages, e.g. in the case of the Romanic languages which have their source in Latin. The relationship of the Latin language as the mother of Early French, Early Provençal and Catalan, Early Italian, Early Castilian, Early Portuguese, Early Rumanian, etc. with these later speeches was exactly like the relationship between Sanskrit on the one hand and Bengali, Assamese, Oriya, Maithil, Bhojpuri, Kosali or Awadhi, Braj and Hindustani (Western Hindi), Sindhi, Early Panjabi, Early Rajasthani Gujarati, Early Marathi, Early Konkani and the rest on the other. Here the parallelism between Sanskrit with the Modern Indo-Aryan languages, and Latin with the Modern Romanic languages is very close indeed, and we have mother and daughter or grandmother and grand-child relationship in both cases. But there are other

cases where the relationship between the two languages which belong to different groups or families even, is almost similar to the relationship between mother and daughter or grandmother and grand-child, as in the case of Latin and Romanic or Sanskrit and Modern Indo-Aryan. Take, for example, the Dravidian languages of the Deccan and Southern India. They in their origin belong to quite a different speech-family from the Indo-European, to which Sanskrit belongs. But for 1500 to 2500 years from now, Tamil-Malayalam, Kannada and Telugu have been within the umbrage of Sanskrit as much as the North Indian Aryan languages. The most intimate spheres of influence in the Dravidian languages, in which Sanskrit has been found to be operative, are remarkable, and even at first sight it would be clear that Sanskrit has been helping in building up of the Dravidian languages as much as in the case of the New Indo-Aryan. Only the roots of Dravidian do not go back to Sanskrit. Sanskrit has been the most important feeder of all the advanced Modern Indian languages, whether Aryan or Dravidian. We have thus to say that Sanskrit has been the mother of all the New Indo-Aryan languages, and in addition, Sanskrit has also been the nourisher of both Indo-Aryan and Dravidian speeches. The above statement indicates in brief the relationship between Sanskrit and the languages of modern India

The importance of Sanskrit in the Indian scene cannot be too highly rated. Sanskrit has exerted a much greater influence on the languages of India than a language like Latin has done in the case of the advanced languages of Europe, particularly Central and Western Europe. Latin is the mother of the Romanic languages, as mentioned before. It has also been just like Sanskrit in India — the nurse and feeder not only of its own daughters, the modern Romanic Languages, but also has nursed in its bosom and given in some cases full nurishment to some other languages not belonging to the Latin orbit in their origin — like for example the Germanic speeches, specially Engish, — and the Old and Middle Celtic speeches like the Irish and Welsh, and a language belonging to a totally different family from the Indo-European, namely the Uralic, like Magyar (or Hungarian). Here we have the profound influence of the composite culture of Europe, which developed during the days of the Roman empire and continued right down to modern times, and which had Latin as its vehicle. It was in the same way, but only with a much more profound effectiveness, that Sanskrit became the vehicle of expression of a composite Hindu culture which began to take shape after the coming of the Aryans and was a force which was very much active from the first half of the first millennium B.C. right down to modern times, over the whole of India, whether Aryan-speaking or Dravidian-speaking, or speaking

Indo-Mongoloid languages like Newari, Meithei, Boḍo or Ṭipra. The contact that Sanskrit furnished through at least two millennia was the most vital leaven in the development of the modern languages of India. This fact has to be given full recognition. Sanskrit even now continues to be a force which is strongly active and is vitally influencing the languages of modern India. It is emphatically *not* a *dead* language, as in a spirit of over-simplification it is said about it : it is not like Latin in Europe because unlike Latin Sanskrit virtually has saturated all the domains of Indian life and culture and there are several special features or aspects which are noticeable in Sanskrit.

Sanskrit has developed on the soil of India from the Indo-Aryan form of the primitive Indo-European speech which came to India by way of Iran, and was itself profoundly modified by the pre-Aryan languages, both Dravidian and Austric, and to a slight extent also by Tibeto-Burman. Quite a large number of non-Aryan vocables entered into Indo-Aryan (including Sanskrit) by the back-door, so to say ; and it can be seen that some of the commonest words in Sanskrit and Indo-Aryan are not of Indo-European origin, but of Dravidian and Austric, being loan-words from these languages. Nobody until recently knew anything about their origin ; but the speakers of Dravidian and Austric certainly felt, albeit unconsciously, some sort of kinship with these words which were ultimately from their own original speeches. That made Sanskrit in the first instance easily acceptable to the pre-Aryan peoples of India who came within the range of an ever-spreading Hindu civilisation. The morphological and syntactical structure of Indo-European, as it is found to be fairly well preserved in Vedic Sanskrit, altered profoundly in the direction of Dravidian and Austic in older post-Vedic Indo-Aryan, including Sanskrit. As a matter of fact, this orientation of the old Aryan speech in India towards the pre-Aryan languages started very early—from the Vedic period itself. Hence there took place a sort of a fundamental or basic agreement between Sanskrit as the mother of the modern Indo-Aryan languages and Sanskrit as a speech which had already assimilated quite a great deal with the Dravidian and Austric speeches. So, naturally Sanskrit, in its spirit as in its vocabulary, became a sort of a composite or all-inclusive speech. But it did not present just a mechanical mixture of primitive Indo-Aryan on the one hand and the Dravidian and Austric on the other. It became rather in its formation a chemical combination or fusion of the spirit, in all the matters of sound and vocabulary and of thought—currents as in the syntax and morphology from all the various language groups which were established in India. This fact gave to Sanskrit its character as the

vital background which loomed large behind all the languages of India, and naturally this background could not be without its great effect at any time.

Further, Sanskrit also developed as a sonorous and mellifluous language a unique aesthetic character when it was chanted or intoned, whether in the reading of the Vedic texts or of the Classical Sanskrit verses in the various metres, and this helped not a little in giving to Sanskrit the willing and assured homage of the people, both scholars and the unlettered masses, who came under its spell ; and Sanskrit became easily recognised as the *Deva-bhāṣā*, the speech of Gods, far above the range of human speech.

Then there were certain intrinsic qualities of Sanskrit literature which made it such a great force for the intellectual and spiritual, artistic and social development of the Indian people. This was apart from the wonderful and the most satisfying (on the Intellectual and philosophical plane), structure and mechanism of the Sanskrit language in its grammar—its phonetics and phonology, its morphology, its syntax and its metrics. Among the ancient languages of the world, there were only four which have original systems of thought, systems which have a profound meaning and which have had an impact on the rest of civilised humanity. The deepest and the highest approaches to the Unseen Reality are to be found only in these four. And they are Sanskrit of India, Ancient Greek, Ancient Hebrew and Ancient Chinese.

The Vedānta of the Vedas and Upaniṣads, Buddhist thought both in the Hinayana and Mahayana, and also later medieval *Bhakti* schools which have continued right down to our day, even in so-called heterodox sects like Sikhism, and in a system of pure thought without the glow of personal faith as in Jainism :—these are among the great gifts of the Sanskrit world to Man in India in the first instance, and to Humanity at large in the world outside, in the second. So also we have the fundamental values of Greek thought, social as well as spiritual, which are among the most precious achievements of mankind and which continue to form a force for the good life everywhere. The Hebrew spirit of abandon of faith in and love for God and absolute resignation to His will is a leaven which is working in the world directly, but mainly through Christianity. The social philosophy of Confucius and others in China as well as the mystic realisation of the Supreme Force behind life, which Laotzu proclaimed as the *Tao* or "the Way" through which everything is borne with the inevitability of a mystic compulsion, are also great factors in the development of Man's social ethos and his supramundane approach and understanding.

Sanskrit philosophy thus gave something of paramount and permanent importance to India, which India could never afford to neglect or forsake. This was one of the unseen forces which have been working behind Sanskrit—the language and its stupendous literature.

Among other reasons why Sanskrit made such a great impression upon the soul of India may be mentioned the following. (These have previously been discussed in my work "Indianism and the Indian Synthesis", Calcutta University Press, 1963). Briefly they are these :

Sanskrit or the Aryan language in its various forms, naturally, as the language of the ruling and guiding *Herrenvolk* of ancient India during some 1500 to 3000 years, became easily the common language or link language among all non-Aryan speakers, whether of Dravidian, or Austric, or Mongoloid or of other origin, who had not developed any common speech amongst themselves. The Dravidians, the speakers of the Austric languages, and latterly of Tibeto-Burman—all found in the Aryan Speech (Sanskrit) the only suitable common medium. This has been also emphasised by a poet like Śriharṣa even as late as the 13th century A.D. in his *Naiṣadha-Carita*. The general intelligibility of Sanskrit gradually increased with the centuries, both among the Aryan speakers whose home languages were Prākṛt dialects which were but modified forms of Sanskrit, and of the Dravidian and Austric speakers whose non-Aryan languages were acquiring a larger and larger number of Sanskrit and other Aryan vocables. So in this way Sanskrit could easily spread. Then, Sanskrit as the sacred language of Hindu ritual naturally was given a position of importance and prestige. It became the holy language of communication between men and the Gods. Further Sanskrit became the accepted language of higher intellectual culture, and all the sciences and arts of Hindu India were studied mainly (if not entirely) through Sanskrit. Then there was the dissemination of Sanskrit through various agencies, like the narrators of Hindu religious and other legends and stories, and through the stage, with some vital and effective traditions of the art of the Drama which was of the Sanskrit inspiration.

Finally, there was the aesthetic value of Sanskrit as a sonorous and melifluous language which could not but create an immediate effect on its listeners. It has been mentioned above, and its importance is never to be lost sight of, as it went a great deal for the popularisation of Sanskrit. This was of course ancillary, and only strongly so, to the divine and spiritual value given to the Sanskrit *mantras* in Hindu ritual.

The modern Indian Aryan languages developed out of Sanskrit in the most natural way, and the Sanskrit or Old Indo-Aryan words became transformed into Middle Indo-Aryan and then into New Indo-Aryan, according to certain regular laws of sound-change and grammatical modification. But this normal and natural change of the Old Indo-Aryan *Sprachgut* or "speech-commodity" of roots, words, terminations became transformed into that of Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan ; and Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit in a rough way began to continue its life through the changed form of Middle Indo-Aryan and New Indo-Aryan. If there was no regular study of Sanskrit and if the Old Indo-Aryan language had just continued its regular development, then the people would have forgotten the great fact of Sanskrit—Classical Sanskrit in its pure form—being in the background. This has been in India unlike what happened very largely in the case of the Iranians. After the people of Iran had been conquered by the Arabs and took up Islam during the middle of the 7th century A.D., they continued their spoken language which was in a late Middle Iranian stage (as represented by Pahlavi, for instance), and subsequently from after 700 or 800 A.D. right down to modern times this was just the Iranian of the New Iranian stage as in Modern Persian and other related languages. Old Persian, as in the inscriptions of the Achaemenian Emperors, and Avestan as in the Zoroastrian sacred books, as well as Pahlavi and other forms of Middle Indo-Aryan, were entirely abandoned in the cultural and historical consciousness of the Islamised Iranians. These older forms of the language of Iran were left to the priests of the proscribed Zoroastrian religion, who somehow carried on in their religious ritual and in their study of the Old Zoroastrian texts the tradition of a little knowledge of the Old and Middle Iranian speech. The Old Persian, Avestan and Pahlavi speeches ceased to have any influence on Modern Persian. The *lacuna* for a religious and cultural language in Iran was then filled up by Arabic, so that New Iranian or Modern Persian became a hanger-on to the Arabic language.

But not so for Sanskrit in India. Throughout the entire period, Sanskrit has been helping the mind and spirit of India in all departments of life. Mention has been made about the importance of the philosophical content of Sanskrit and its tremendous influence for India and the whole world. Sanskrit literature has been acknowledged to be one of the most vital creations of the human mind. Only about 10 or 12 languages have been put in the first category or rank of human speeches—Sanskrit, Ancient Greek, Ancient Chinese, Ancient Hebrew, Latin, and Old Arabic among classical languages, and among modern languages French, English, German, Spanish and Italian, and a few more like Russian (at least

for its creative literature) are now coming up. The veteran statesman of India, Chakravarti Rajagopalachari, has quite correctly declared that "Sanskrit is the symbol of our seniority among the nations of the world". Jawaharlal Nehru paid the same tribute to Sanskrit which was paid to Shakespeare in England—' Sanskrit is the most precious possession of India, and India will not remain India if she loses her Sanskrit." Two Russian scholars of Sanskrit have recently sought to bring home to the world the value of Sanskrit for India in these terms :

"Sanskrit performs a unique function of a cementing force. The very notion of India is hardly conceivable without Sanskrit which has symbolised and cemented the unity of Indian culture and history throughout several millennia" (*Sanskrit* by V. V. Ivanov and V. N. Toporov, Nauka Publishers, Moscow, 1968, Pages, 26, 27).

Hence it would be only natural to expect that Sanskrit should have had and should also continue to have a great influence on the modern languages of India. One vital point is that Sanskrit is perpetually toning up the old Indian character and the mind of India through lending its words to the modern Indian languages, decade by decade and century by century. There is the general mass of North Indian Aryan languages, the basic vocabulary of which, as of New Indo-Aryan speeches, has been the offspring of Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit. Here the derivation of these words as *tadbhava* or derivative (or Sanskrit-derived) words follow regular schemes of development, for each of these languages. But over and above that, there has been an unending stream of borrowed words, which came into the Indo-Aryan language as *tatsama* or "same-as-Sanskrit" words, and became equally modified, not always according to set or prescribed rules, and became in this way *semi-tatsamas*. Thus Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit *Kṛṣṇa* (Krishna) has become in modern Indo-Aryan by natural course of development, *Kānha* or *Kān*. But we have a number of *semi-tatsamas* from the same word, which was again and again re-introduced from Sanskrit into the later forms of Indo-Aryan (Prākṛt and *Bhāshā*) as *Kasaṇa*, *Krishaṇa*, *Kisan*, *Krushṇa*, *Keshṭo*, *Kiṭṭu*, *Kiruṭṭiṇan*, etc.

The line of a normal philological development in the case of the *semi-tatsamas* is noticed more in the breach than in the observance. Hundreds of examples would be found in any modern Indo-Aryan book—Awadhi or Braj, Maithili or Bengali, Hindustani or Panjabi, Sindhi or Gujarati—when we consider its vocabulary, for the last thousand years that they have been developing. In earlier manuscripts or recencions of these books, the *semi-tatsama* forms were generally left intact and not tampered with by seeking to

bring their spelling more in harmony with that of classical Sanskrit. Thus we can mention a few words like the following where one cannot lay down any hard and fast or regular phonetic laws which have been consistently followed : e. g. *kavilāsu* (= Sanskrit *kailāsa*), *bisandaru* (= *vaiśvānara*), *saibham* (*svayambhū*), *baramā* (*Brahmā*), *sirathi* (*sṛṣṭi*), *suraga* (*svarga*), *agani* (*agni*), *dhīraja* (*dhairya*), *trisanā* (*tṛṣṇā*), *subhāi* (*svabhāva*), *piramu* (*prema*), *adhiatami* (*adhyātmika*), *mūratu* (*muhūrta*), *khintha* (*kanthā*), *dṛga* (*dṛśa*), *daliddara* (*daridra*), *surasari* (*surasarit*), *jagya* (*yajña*), *jogu* (*yogya*), *srauna* (*sravaṇa*), *harakha* (*harṣa*), *piriti* (*prīti*), *tiyāsa* (*pipāsā* + *tṛṣā*), *srāpa* (*sāpa*), *jochanā* (*jyotsnā*), *paratekha* (*pratyakṣa*), *tayāgaba* (**tyājitavya*) *teāga* (*tyāga*), *tiriyā* (*strī*) *Purukhotam* (*Puruṣottama*) etc. etc.

These *semi-tatsamas* in the medieval Aryan languages of India, have enabled a sort of a close link between Sanskrit and the *tadbhava* forms, and have strengthened the old idea that the Prākṛts or spoken languages are just a form of a *pāṭha* or modified reading of Sanskrit and they are not separate languages, but different forms, even like dialects, of the same speech.

A similar thing has happened in the case of the Dravidian languages also, which are not the daughters born from the womb of Old Indo-Aryan or Sanskrit, but which have been all through nursed at the breast of Sanskrit. There have been all through different periods of borrowing from Sanskrit, into Tamil (Old Tamil, Middle Tamil, Early Modern Tamil and Modern Tamil, for example, and similarly also in Old Telugu, Old Kannada, Middle Telugu and Middle Kannada, Early Malayalam and the current forms of these and other Dravidian languages). Thus *Kṛṣṇa* (*Krishna*), a Sanskrit word in its popular form has in Middle Indo-Aryan or Prākṛt become *Kaṇha*, and this is found in Tamil as *Kaṇṇan*. Then *Kṛṣṇa* introduced later is found as *Kiruṭṭiṇan*, and later again as *Kirushṇan* and also *Kiṭṭu*. In this way the same Sanskrit word masqueredes in three or four or even half a dozen forms in the various Dravidian lauguages. So Brahmana becomes in Old Tamil *Pirāmmaṇan*, in Early Telugu as *Barāmaṇa* ; Sanskrit *Ārya-purī* became in Old Kannada first *Ayyapuli* and then in later Kannada *Aïholi*. Examples will be found in any good book on the study of Sanskrit elements in the Dravidian languages, like for instance S. Anavaratavinayakam Pillai's Study of the Sanskrit Loan-words in Tamil, as published by the University of Madras in 1918 ; a Study of the Tamil Lexicon as published by the University of Madras in 1934, and all standard Kannada, Malayalam and Telugu Lexicons (e.g. Kittel's Kannada Dictionary) will show the astonishing amount of penetration of Sanskrit into these cultivated Dravidian languages, both as *tat-samas* and *semi-tatsamas* as well as

tadbhava loans from the Aryan spoken tongues. Besides, also see S. Vaidyanathan's 'Indo-Aryan Loan-Words in Old Tamil', Madras, November 1971. In spite of certain conscious attempts on the part of some political parties in recent years to belittle and even if possible to restrict the influence of Sanskrit on a language like Tamil, such a movement is not yet noticeable elsewhere, or is just in an incipient stage confined to a limited number of faddists. It may be said that even now any Sanskrit word used in literature or having a place in a dictionary is without any question a future Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada or Telugu word. There will not be any linguistic objection to such a word being adopted if there was no equivalent for it in the Dravidian language concerned. The same thing is true of all the Aryan languages of North India (even Urdu and Sindhi, of course as used by Hindus, is becoming more flexible in this matter). So, in a similar way, even now, it may be said that any French or Latin word is a prospective English word also, and it depends upon an influential writer to use it in his English writing. It was the case for Arabic words also until recently, and the Iranians are now becoming more alive to the native pre-Muslim stages of their language, and are seeking to restrict or eschew Arabic words, and are putting a stop to the further admission of Arabic elements in their language.

Apart from the question of vocables, the Sanskrit atmosphere in the languages of India has been mentioned before. Sanskrit unquestionably forms at the present day the strongest and the most effective bond of union amongst different Indian States to preserve the Indian character of Indian civilisation. The people of Nepal are very largely different from the people, e.g. of Kerala in their habits and ways of living and also in their social build up. But they all feel pride and glory in being within the orbit of Indian culture. What is the point of unity for this ? It is the Sanskrit language. A Kerala Brahman uses Sanskrit *mantras* same as a Brahman or even a non-Brahman in Nepal. Both of them go to Sanskrit for words of higher culture. The inheritance of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and of the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads* is shared both by the Nepalese and the Keralites as the basic thing of their culture. Indian literature, e.g. a social novel depicting Hindu and Indian life, written in the Kannada country, will not be looked upon as something foreign in Bengal or North India. People outside of the Kannada area will read the Bengali or Hindi translation without any feeling of strangeness—excepting for the local colour and they will be able to read and enjoy it as if this translation was an original composition, thanks to this common cultural atmosphere of Hindudom and Sanskrit.

This is also strongly supported by the All-India Hindu religious festivals, like the *Śivarātri*, the *Mahāṣṭamī*, the various *Ekādaśi* fasts, *Rāma-navami*, *Janmāṣṭamī*, *Dīpāvalī*, *Śrī-pañcamī*, *Nāga-pañcamī*, etc., which are all "Sanskrit-based".

This ought, in our own interest, to be vitally strengthened if India is to survive as India. Of course, mankind is forever changing. The present age shows a fundamental transformation of humanity everywhere, with that growing population, and people everywhere are now finding it impossible to live the leisurely, old-fashioned life. They must be developing everywhere new habits, and new ways and even new patterns of living and thinking. These ways of life and patterns of living and thinking are now tending to be one for the whole of mankind—the cosmopolitan European-American way and pattern. Yet, in spite of the fact that the whole of humanity is going to be linked into a common pattern, all the varieties of development cannot be wholly obliterated. In the modern pattern of life, as being evolved, there are certain very important things in the domain of both the physical side of life and mental which mankind cannot afford to neglect or ignore. But at the same time, man must retain some of his basic values which are running the risk of being entirely abandoned, as these are becoming sacrificial victims at the shrine of what would be called "Progress". We should have in our culture both *Yoga* and *Kṣema*, to quote two very expressive words from the Sanskrit. *Yoga* is addition of new things - ideas and objects, ways of thinking and scientific gadgets, the newer and newer patterns of life—which are becoming universal, and these we must have with a view to preserving ourselves in the race of life. All that is worth conserving as *Kṣēma* or things which bring peace and well-being—things which developed in our own culture and which have still a value for us, as well as for humanity at large. We must not forget the fundamental things in our own way of living and way of thinking—the basic idea of an Indianism or the Indian Way of Life, and the Indian Way of Thought, which have had a proved value for us in our corporate and national existence for at least 2500 years, and which have still also a value and a meaning, and is of a mind-building force for other peoples also, who have not wholly lost a sense of the Ultimate Reality.

BUDDHIST SANSKRIT — AN APPRAISAL

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It is rather presumptious to attempt a coverage of a topic like Buddhist Sanskrit in a brief paper, because it involves texts which, as Franklin Edgerton's researches have shown, are of varied linguistic nature in their approximation to, or departure from, the norm of classical Sanskrit. Besides, there is presently extant in original form only a small portion of the Buddhist Sanskrit works that are preserved in other languages, Chinese and Tibetan, in translations. Still, an attempt should be made.

My approach will be to first consider Edgerton's theories and certain ones of his critics, and then to treat Buddhist vocabulary by going outside of Buddhist texts to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*, which might serve as the external *darpaṇa* to reflect the nature of Buddhist Sanskrit vocabulary.

1. The nature of Buddhist Sanskrit according to Edgerton.

In the years after Edgerton produced his monumental *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Grammar and Dictionary* (1953) and *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit* (1953), scholars have adequately assessed that contribution, sometimes with serious criticisms. There are considerations by Brough,[1] Raghavan,[2] Emeneau,[3] aad among others a modest piece by myself.[4] For the most part, despite some reservations, there was an evident admiration for Edgerton's accomplishment.

First, let me review in summary fashion Edgerton's own position in this matter. He said that leaving out of consideration a small number of Buddhist works written in standard Sanskrit (such as the *Buddhacarita* of Aśvaghoṣa), the Prakrit Dhammapada,[5] and the Pāli canon of the southern Buddhist countries, most of the North Indian Buddhist texts are composed in a language which Edgerton calls Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit (abbreviated BHS). He

believed that this kind of Sanskrit is based on a certain unidentified old Middle Indic vernacular, even though it is probable that from the beginning of Buddhist scriptures these were rehearsed in a variety of North Indian dialects. Taking for granted this old Middle Indic base, he then set forth a development process called hybridization tending toward standard Sanskrit, a process that allows those North India Buddhist texts to be placed in three classes. The first class consists mainly of the *Mahāvastu*, with both prose and verse showing Middle-Indicisms. The second class includes the works whose verses are hybridized but whose prose has few signs of Middle Indic phonology or morphology; among the large number of works there is, for example, the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka.* The third class has the works in which there are scarcely any non-Sanskritic forms in either prose or verse, for example, the *Mūla-Sarvāstivāda-Vinaya*. Besides, Edgerton insisted that their vocabulary, exhibiting special Buddhist senses or in terms not found in classical Sanskrit, stamps these works as belonging within his Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit classes.[6]

Edgerton's theory has implications for editing of Sanskrit Buddhist texts, because it holds that a number of the forms which editors, such as Senart in his edition of the *Mahāvastu*, took as scribal errors and then corrected in favour of more exact Sanskrit forms—are in fact valid forms according to Edgerton's extended description of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit in his *Grammar*. Among these hybrid forms, as Emeneau observes in his Review,[7] are the very common *Mahāvastu* optatives with endings *etsuḥ*, *-etsu*, e.g. *bhavetsuḥ*, *akaretsuḥ*, for which Emeneau notes a parallel in the Prakrit *Dhammapada*.

It should be noticed that Edgerton's theory has two distinct aspects : (1) a theory of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar, involving phonological and morphological considerations, fully described in his *Grammar*; and (2) a theory of Buddhist vocabulary —where either meanings or terms differ from those of non-Buddhist Sanskrit works-listed, often with lengthy entries, in his *Dictionary*, Brough's criticisms are mainly directed to the first aspect of the theory and emphasize that Edgerton goes to an extreme in listing grammatical forms, through an unwarranted faith in scribal infallibility in connection with the archetype or later copies.[8] Also, Brough rejects the theory of a single Prakrit dialect as the basis of the Buddhist Sanskrit texts. Raghavan criticizes both aspects of Edgerton's theory. Thus, he has a specific criticism on the first aspect by rejecting Edgerton's exclusive assignment to Buddhist texts of the expression *yena ... ... tena* ('where' ... ... 'there'—

usually : where someone was, there someone went), pointing out by examples that this kind of construction is common in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[9] Raghavan considers it rash to collect all the vagaries and make up a grammar for them, as Edgerton did. The most supported of Raghavan's criticisms concerns the second aspect, of Buddhist terminology. Here he mentions a number of cases where Edgerton's justification of word inclusion in the *Dictionary* is contradicted by finding the same in non-Buddhist texts whether Vedic or Epic. For example, Edgerton includes the pose *Pratyālīḍha*, and Raghavan notes that it is described in Nāṭya Śāstra literature.[10] While these examples prove Raghavan's extensive control of Sanskrit literature, it does not seem to have been the latter's intention to thereby condemn the *Dictionary*.

My article observed, "The Buddhist Sanskrit texts have a hybrid linguistic character because they originate in a hieratic Prakrit dialect which resists the prestigious Sanskritizing process." That is, I supported Edgerton's thesis by representing the hybridization to have been consciously done by a conservative monkhood which may or may not have known Sanskrit well, but which cannot be said to have been incapable at Sanskrit simply by virtue of the hybridization itself. For example, when Nāgārjuna wrote in his *Madhyamaka-kārikā* (XVIII, 2), *śamād ātmātmanīyayoḥ*, where the form *ātmanīya* is not standard Sanskrit, this does not mean that Nāgārjuna did not know Sanskrit well.[11] This monk order was not as successful in preserving the word of the Buddha, which had originally been expounded in various North India dialects, as were the Brahmins with their remarkable preservation of the word of the Veda. The Buddhist monks tried to preserve the word in the face of the growing use of Sanskrit as a literary language, and grudgingly gave in, step by step, to the Sanskritization.

But now I have a somewhat clearer picture of the first aspect, which can account for the fact that such a work as the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, which is included by Edgerton in his third class, in fact is known to be among the earliest, if not the very earliest, of the Mahāyāna scriptures. For this, one should understand the existence of conservative and progressive currents of Buddhism that were partially separated geographically as well as by virtue of sects. These are relative considerations. The first division is India proper as the conservative area in comparison with areas outside ancient India, such as Ceylon and other southern Buddhist regions as well as Central Asia. It was outside of India that the translation of Buddhist texts took place; and outside India that such loosely syncretic works as *The Book of Zambasta* (non-Sanskrit) was composed in Khotan and the *Laṅkāvatāra-sūtra* (Sanskrit) was

composed—according to my understanding—in Ceylon (the ancient Laṅkā). It was outside of India that an Indian scripture—the Pāli canon, was first committed to writing (in Ceylon during the reign of Vaṭṭagāmaṇi, c. 29-17 B.C.). Presumably, to the extent that Buddhist works were composed in Central Asia in the Sanskrit language, these works could exhibit bad Sanskrit in various degrees, because the authors would not be sufficiently educated in Sanskrit. Then, within ancient India, the Gandhāra region was more progressive (both in iconography and in doctrine) than the rest of North India; and South India—where I place the composition of Tathāgatagarbha scriptures and the early Buddhist Tantras[12]—was more innovative than North India. Some Buddhist sect or sects gave rise to the Prajñāpāramitā scriptures composed in Sanskrit, starting with the first century A.D. (perhaps a little earlier), and may have used for a grammar the *Kalāpasūtra*.[13] In fact, Buddhist Sanskrit texts which Edgerton included in his third class were undoubtedly being composed throughout the Kuṣāṇa period as well as the Gupta Dynasty. Overlapping this activity of composition in Sanskrit, a conservative monkhood was responsible for various works which are classified in three groups according to Edgerton. In the light of these considerations, it is reasonable to hold with Brough that the *Grammar* sometimes exhibits forms that are merely bad Sanskrit, and moreover that Edgerton may have introduced errors by putting all Sanskrit Buddhist works into three classes. He should perhaps have left out certain works that do not properly fall into his system of hybridization stages, but then he would have had the almost insurmountable task of deciding which works fall into the three classes and which do not. After all, it is a matter of convenience of description. Edgerton has the great merit of neatly encompassing a vast set of data in his *Grammar*, which remains a monument of intelligence and industry, as does his *Dictionary*. In this light, the fault of the *Grammar* is not in his producing it in the published form, but rather in his not defining its limitations, which are left to the critics to mention. On the other hand, if any criticism would have us believe that Edgerton should not have written the *Grammar* at all, he would not be the first or the last to have a fine scholarly work regarded as no work.

Turning to the other aspect of Edgerton's theory — that of Buddhist vocabulary, it is perhaps ironic that his *Dictionary*, which has proved considerably more useful than his *Grammar*, should have a less defensible title. Indeed, even if we accept the suitability of the name 'Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit' to apply to the material in the *Grammar*, it is hard to see the applicability of the name to the entries in the *Dictionary*. But even when we say 'Buddhist Sanskrit'

or 'Buddhist vocabulary' it is a matter of convenience, just as when someone says, 'Vedāntic Sanskrit' or 'Vedāntic vocabulary.' In fact, all these words are Indian words. Granted that different Indian schools deliberately used some words in a technical manner, wh ch must be learned in order to grasp the specific tenets of the school, and that Buddhism, like some other Indian schools, has a long list of such special terms.[11] Still it is a fact that many of the most special terms of a system can be shared by other Indian systems, sometimes with the same and sometimes with different meanings for the terms. But the bulk of the entries in the *Dictionary* is derived from the fact that the various Indian schools—so also the Buddhist sects—talked about different things and thus necessarily used and preserved different words. Hence, even if the title for the BHS *Dictionary* is not appropriate the *Dictionary* itself, meaning its contents, will be a standard reference work for years to come.

II Some considerations of certain words of the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*.

The foregoing has clarified that the terminology 'Buddhist meanings' is not strictly correct since all the meanings of a Sanskrit word are the set of meanings of that word in the Indian books and the oral tradition. With this in mind, we consider certain words in the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* — a system rival to Buddhism — and use the terminology 'Buddhist meanings' simply to denote those meanings which I happened to learn through reading Buddhist books and consulting associated reference works such as Edgerton's BHS *Dictionary*, even though these meanings are not necessarily exclusive to such books For the *Sāṅkhyakārikā* I here use the edition and translation by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri,[15] which is the main work employed for this text in Radhakrishnan and Moore : *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*.[16]

The first case is that of S. K. 11 :

triguṇam, aviveki viṣayaḥ sāmānyam, acetanam, prasavadharmi/
vyaktaṃ, tathā pradhānaṃ; tadviparītas tathā ca pumān//

The word *aviveki* is in point. The Sastri translation 'non-discriminated' is of course based on the Vedānta interpretation of the word *viveka;* and the translator admits he could not use the rendering 'lacking discrimination' — which would be more grammatically exact — since that would be tantamount to a subsequent term in the *kārikā*, *acetanam*, 'non-intelligent.' But the meaning for *avivekin* 'not separated, not kept asunder,' which Monier-Williams ascribes to Appayya Dīkṣita's *Kuvalayānanda*, is what one would expect from Buddhist texts where the related form

vivikta 'separated, solitary' is standard in the description of the Buddhist *dhyānas*. So in the Budhhist *Mahāvyutpatti* No. 1478 : viviktaṃ kāmair viviktaṃ pāpakair akuśala-dharmaiḥ savitarkaṃ savicāraṃ vivekajaṃ prīti-sukhaṃ prathamaṃ dhyānam upasaṃpadya viharati/. "He dwells accomplishing the First Meditation which is isolated from desires, isolated from sinful unvirtuous natures, attended with *vitarka* and *vicāra* (discursive thought in its two stages of a. the rough sketch or adumbration and b. the detailed idea or thinking with signs) and which has joy and pleasure born of isolation (*vivekaja*)," Taking the suggestion of this rendition of *viveka*, S. K. 11 can be translated as follows :

> The manifest (*vyakta*) has three guṇas, is non-solitary (*aviveki*), objective, general, non-intelligent, and productive; likewise the primeval (*pradhāna*) (=the unmanifest). The Person is the reverse of that, though similar (i.e. the reverse of *pradhāna* in K. 11, but similar to *pradhāna* in K. 10).

In the sense of reverse or contrast, the Person is therefore *vivekin* 'solitary'. Along these lines, the subsequent S.K. 19 states :

> tasmāc ca viparyāsāt siddham, sākṣitvam asya puruṣasya /
> kaivalyam, mādhyasthyam, draṣṭṛtvam, akartṛbhāvaś ca //
> And from the contrast, it is proved that the Puruṣa has witness solitude (*kaivalya*), neutrality, seership, and the mode of non-agency.

The next case is that of S.K. 24 :

> abhimāno 'haṅkāraḥ, tasmād dvividhaḥ pravartate sargaḥ /
> ekādaśakaś ca gaṇaḥ, tanmātraḥ pañcakaś caiva //

In this case Sastri translation starts : "Individuation is conceit." That translation of *abhimāna* as 'conceit' follows the later development of the noun and is close to the standard Buddhist meaning of 'pride' for *abhimāna*. However, here the Buddhist sense is not proper; rather we should follow the learned treatment of Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya,[17] who explains *abhimāna* as the egoistic will, or conation, following from the primary significance of the verb *abhiman*, 'to think of, long for, desire.' It is this longing which the Sāṅkhya system assigns to ahaṃkāra as the function producing the twofold creation. Hence the *kārikā* is translated :

> Ahaṃkāra (calling it 'I') is conation. From it creation proceeds twofold—the group of eleven, and the five subtle elements.

The translation of the function *abhimāna* by 'conation' furnishes a significant lift to the cogency of this *kārikā* for the rest of the Sāṅkhya system. It shows that the longing to expand upon what

is 'mine'[18] gives rise to the organs and so on ; whereas the usual rendition of *abhimāna* as 'conceit' or the Buddhist 'pride' constitutes an unintelligible reason far ascribing such evolution.

Then S. K. 42 :

puruṣārtha-hetukam idam nimitta-naimittika-prasaṅgena /
prakṛter vibhutvayogān naṭavad vyavatiṣṭhate liṅgam //

This is the Sastri translation : "The subtle body prompted by the goal of the Spirit performs (its parts) like a player, through (its) connection with means and (their) results, being united to the might of Primal Nature." The translator thinks that the *kārikā* implies that the subtle body takes on different parts in the manner of an actor ; but in fact, the *kārikā* might be explicitly stating it, by the following argument. Here he renders the words *nimitta-naimittika-prasaṅga* as 'connection with means and their results.' The Buddhist use of the *nimitta* (see Edgerton, *Dictionary*, pp. 297-98) is the translation intermediary. In these texts, the word *nimitta* usually means a 'sign' or 'mark', a sense also employed in the *Mahābhārata*. Edgerton points out that it can mean a "*personal, physical mark* or *trait* or *characteristic*, esp. of the body, but also of dress or ornament". The word *naimittika* can mean 'accidental' or 'occasional'. The Monier-Williams Dictionary gives as one sense of *prasaṅga*. (ascribed to Wilson), in drama, "a secondary or subsidiary incident or plot." This sense is repeated in Apte's Dictionary. Apte's Dictionary gives *inter alia* for *naimittika* "a conditional act,—to be performed on the occurrence of a *nimitta*" (*Śārīrabhāṣya*). Taking all these bits of evidence together, it seems feasible to render *nimitta-naimittika-prasaṅga* "adoption of a role with a character (*nimitta*) and consequent features (*naimittika*)." Then the entire *kārikā* might be rendered :

> The subtle body, motivated for Puruṣa's goal,
> behaves like an actor by adoption of a role with a
> character and consequent features, through connection
> with the potency of Prakṛti.

Passing to S.K. 46 : *eṣā pratyayasargaḥ*, etc. down to *tasya ca bhedās tu pañcāśat*, we should acknowledge that the translation of *pratyayasarga* based on the commentaries, namely, "creation of the intellect" is certainly justified by the context, since it refers to the eight modes of *buddhi*. On the other hand, the usual Buddhist sense of *pratyaya* is 'condition or conditional cause' and this sense fits well the remainder of the *kārikā*, especially "its variety amounts to fifty," since one can understand the *pratyayasarga* as the basic creation which gives rise to fifty varieties. Therefore, the intention of the word *pratyaya* in this *kārikā* can be argued both ways.

In S.K. 55, first half : *tatra jarā-maraṇa-kṛtam duḥkhaṃ prāpnoti cetanaḥ puruṣaḥ*, observe that *jarā-maraṇa* is the last member of the Buddhist twelvefold Dependent Origination (*pratītyasamutpāda*) and a kind of *duḥkha* in Buddhism. Also that *cetanā* in Buddhism is the volitional thinking, otherwise called *manas-karma*, responsible for destiny.[19] Hence, possibly, the half-*kārikā* should be rendered : "There the volitional person attains the suffering consisting in old age and death."

Finally, there are the *kārikās* 67-68 :

samyagjñānādhigamād dharmādīnām akāraṇaprāptau /
tiṣṭhati saṃskāra-vaśāt cakrabhramivad dhṛta-śarīraḥ//
prāpte śarīra-bhede caritārthatvāt pradhāna-vinivṛttau /
aikāntikam ātyantikam ubhayam kaivalyam āpnoti //

We notice that the two *kārikās* are equivalent to the two traditional kinds of Buddhist *nirvāṇa* : (a) *nirvāṇa* with remainder (*sopadhiśeṣa-nirvāṇa*) as in *kārikā* 67 : a puruṣa remains possessed of body (*tiṣṭhati dhṛtaśarīraḥ*) by force of *saṃskāra* (*saṃskāra-vaśāt*). (b) *nirvāṇa* without remainder (*nirupadhiśeṣa-nirvāṇa*) as in *kārikā* 68 : when a puruṣa reaches break-up of body (*prāpte śarīrabhede*) he attains *kaivalya* (*kaivalyam āpnoti*). This suggestion of a Buddhist parallel encourages me to consider in particular the word *saṃskāra* of *kārikā* 67. As is well known, this term is the second member of the Buddhist *pratītyasamutpāda* formula : and is frequently translated as 'impressions' just as translators have rendered the *saṃskāra* of this *kārikā* 67. However, my long time researches in the Buddhist formula (with two published articles so far on the subject[20]) have convinced me that the word *saṃskāra* in this context should not be translated 'impressions'. Long ago I noticed the importance of the brief Buddhist scripture called the *Arthaviniścaya*,[21] which expounds the second member as follows : *saṃskārāḥ katame/ trayaḥ saṃskārāḥ/ kāyasaṃskāraḥ/ vāksaṃskāraḥ/ manaḥsaṃskāraś ca/*. It goes on to explain *kāyasaṃskāra* as *āśvāsaḥ/ praśvāsaḥ/* "inhalation and exhalation" ; *vāksaṃskāra* as : *vitarkya vicārya vācaṃ bhāṣate/* "adumbrating and thinking with signs, one speaks a word" ; and *manaḥsaṃskāra* as : *raktasya yā cetanā/ dviṣṭasya yā cetanā/ mūḍhasya yā cetanā/* "the volition of the impassioned thought, the volition of the hating thought, the volition of the deluded thought." For this reason, it is not proper to translate *saṃskāra* in the Buddhist context as 'impressions'[22], and I have used the rendition 'motivations' to cover generally such categories as *kāyasaṃskāra* (motivation of body), namely, inhalation and exhalation. It turns out that this rendition 'motivation' is immediately applicable to the *Sāṅkhyakārikā*

67 : *saṃskāra-vaśāt cakrabhramivad*, "by the force of motivations, like the whirl of the potter's wheel," because the wheel can reasonably be considered to go on whirling by virtue of motivations (just as the body keeps on going by virtue of inhalation and exhalation) but not by virtue of impressions. So *kārikā* 67 is translated :

> Dharma, etc. having ceased to be causes because of his attaining right knowledge, (a puruṣa) remains possessed of body by force of motivations, like the whirl of the potter's wheel.

Those examples, although few in number, will illustrate my position that Buddhist meanings are just Indian meanings, because if it is proper to conclude that *saṃskāra* in *Sāṅkhyakārikā* 67 means 'motivations' this meaning is a Sāṅkhya meaning as well as a Buddhist meaning. At the same time it is as proper to make a Buddhist Dictionary as it is to make a Vaidika-kośa, a Nyāya-kośa, etc., because these are all convenient repositories of words, small collections from the inexhaustible treasury of Indian words.

Footnotes

1. John Brough, "The Language of the Buddhist Sanskrit Texts," *BSOAS*, 1954, xvi/2. 351-75.
2. V. Raghavan, "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," *Suniti Kumar Chatterji Jubilee Volume*, 1955, 313-22; also, V. Raghavan, "Buddhological Texts and the Epics," reprint from the *Adyar Library Bulletin*, Vol. XX, parts 3-4, 349-59.
3. M. B. Emeneau, Review in *Language*, Vol. 30, No. 4, October-December, 1955, 474-85, of *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit grammar and dictionary*, by Franklin Edgerton; (William Dwight Whitney linguistic series.) Vol. 1 : Grammar, pp. 239; Vol. 2 : Dictionary, pp, ix, 627; New Haven : Yale University Press, 1953. And of *Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit Reader*, edited with notes by Franklin Edgerton; (William Dwight Whitney linguistic series.), pp. ix, 76; New Haven : Yale University Press, 1953.
4. Alex Wayman, "The Buddhism and the Sanskrit of Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 85, No. 1, Jan.-March, 1965, 111-15.
5. Now the work by John Brough, *The Gāndhārī Dharmapada* (London, 1962).
6. Cf. Edgerton, *Grammar*, xxv and 1-14
7. Emeneau, p. 477.
8. Brough, the *BSOAS* article, pp. 353

9. Raghavan, "Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit," pp. 315-17.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 321.
11. Wayman, "The Buddhism ... ..." p. 115; and Edgerton, *Dictionary*, p. 92, entry '*ātmanīya*'.
12. So far my attempts to prove this contention are in unpublished works, especially: *The Lion's Roar of Queen Śrīmālā* (in collaboration with Hideko Wayman), in press of Columbia University Press.
13. *Kalāpasūtra* is the title preserved in the Tibetan account; cf. *Mkhas-grub-rje's Fundamentals of the Buddhist Tantras,* by F. D. Lessing and Alex Wayman (1958), 76-7. This earliest known treatise of non-Pāṇinian grammar is also called the *Kātantra* and is placed by B. Liebich in the first century, A.D.; cf. L. Renou and J. Filliozat, *L'Inde classique*, II, 93.
14. Perhaps the oldest list of Buddhist terms is that of the *Sangīti Suttanta*, No. 33 in the *Dīgha Nikāya* of the Pāli canon. In this case, the terms are in their Pāli form. In the Sanskrit language, such lists of terms, usually in association with varieties, is called a *Dharmasaṃgraha*. Such a work is reprinted in *Mahāyāna-Sūtra-Saṁgraha,* edited by Dr. P. L. Vaidya (Darbhanga, 1961), No. 20. There is *Der Chinesische Dharmasaṃgraha* by Friedrich Weller (Leipzig, 1923). In the early ninth century, A.D., the celebrated Sanskrit-Tibetan dictionary called the *Mahāvyutpatti* was compiled in Tibet; here the terms are comprised under subject headings, starting with the epithets of the Buddha.
15. *The Sāṅkhyakārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa*, edited and translated by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri (University of Madras, 1948).
16. *A Source Book in Indian Philosophy*, edited by S. Radha Krishnan and C. A. Moore (Princeton, 1957).
17. Krishnachandra Bhattacharyya, *Studies in Philosophy*, Vol. I (Calcutta, 1956), especially pp. 182-83.
18. Cf. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. I (Cambridge, 1932), p. 250.
19. So Asaṅga's *Abhidharma-Samuccaya*, edited by Pralhad Pradhan (Santiniketan, 1950), text, pp. 5-6; cetanā katamā / cittābhisaṃskāro manaskarma / kuśalākuśalāvyākṛteṣu cittapreraṇakarmikā // What is *cetanā*? The mental *karma* which instigates thought. The agency urging thought toward the virtuous, the unvirtuous, and the indeterminate.
20. Alex Wayman, "Buddhist Dependent Origination and the Sāṃkhya guṇas," *Ethnos* (1962), pp. 14-22; "Buddhist

Dependent Origination," *History of Religions*, Vol. 10, No. 3 (Feb. 1971), pp. 185-203.

21. *Arthaviniścaya*, edited by Alfonsa Ferrari, *Accad. dei Lincei, Scienze Morali, Atti-Memorie*, Ser. 7, Vol. 4 (Roma, 1944), especially pp. 556-57.

22. Edgerton's rendition (*Dictionary*, p. 542) 'predisposition(s)' is also satisfactory and is an excellent equivalent in the case of the third *saṃskāra*, the *manaḥsaṃskāra*; but I believe the greater generality of the word 'motivations' serves better to represent *saṃskāra* as the second member of Dependent Origination in the light of the three varieties of the *Arthaviniścaya*.

RELATIONSHIP OF DOGRI WITH SANSKRIT

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1. Dogri, the language of the Dogra Pahari people living in a vast area spreading south-east from Poonch in Jammu and Kashmir State to Sirmur in Himachal Pradesh may be considered the main representative of a variety of dialects grouped under the term Western Pahari. A large number of dialects are spoken in the hilly areas from Nepal to Poonch, but on the basis of common characteristics these dialects can be grouped into three classes: Eastern Pahari, Central Pahari and Western Pahari. Nepali is the representative language of Eastern Pahari, Garhwali and Kumauni represent Central Pahari and Dogri may be considered the representative of Western Pahari. It covers the dialects spoken in the whole Province of Jammu, Kullu, Kangra, Gurdaspur, hilly area of Hoshiarpur, Mandi Suket, Bilaspur, Simla Hills, Shakargarh and Jaffarwal Districts of West Punjab and Bajwat area of Sialkot District. The earliest known reference to this language is found in a couplet of Khusro who lived in the beginning of 14th Century A.D. John Beams in his outlines of Indian Philology published in 1867 has mentioned Dogri in the list of eleven main languages of India of the Indo-Germanic family. Dr. Grierson regarded Dogri as a dialect of Punjabi and included within its sphere, three sub-dialects Kaṇḍeyālī, Kangra and Bhaṭeyali only. Other dialects like Kalhuri Sirmuri, Kiuthali, Kuluri, Maṇḍeyālī, Chameyālī were grouped under Western Pahari. Dr. Siddheshwar Verma describing Dogri as an important frontier language of India stated, "It is more reasonable to call Dogri a language in the sense of an independent dialect". The present paper deals with the Dogri of Jammu.

1.2. Dogri seems to be derived from a Prākṛt which was prevalent in the hilly areas of North-West India and was very close to Śaurasenī Prākṛt. Representation of Sanskrit *Ya* by *Ja*, of Sanskrit *Va* by *ba*, of Sanskrit *ta* by *da* and of Sanskrit *kṣa* by *kkha*

which are characteristics of Śaurasenī are found in Dogri also. The area was under the influence of Khasas very early as recognised by Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra.* (वाह्लीकभाषोदीच्यानां खसानां च स्वदेशजा)[1] We do not get, however, the examples of Khasa Prākṛt. Associated with the name Ṭākarī of the script in which Dogri was written previously and which appears in various inscriptional records of Chamba and on the Paintings of various Pahari Schools, scholars have mentioned a Ṭākki Prākṛt ascribed to the country of the Ṭakkas round about Sialkot.[2] According to Mārkaṇḍeya, Ṭākki is a mixture of Sanskrit and Śaurasenī and has both *śa* and *sa*, *ra* and *la*. It is, however, strange that Mārkaṇḍeya describes Ṭākki as Drāviḍi Vibhāṣā.[3] Whatever the name of the Prākṛt from which Dogri was derived may be, it seems to have been very near to Śaurasenī and the Prākṛt of Aśokan inscriptions of North-West India.

1.3. On analysing the phonology, the grammar and the vocabulary of Dogri, one can observe easily that Dogri like many other modern Indian Languages has a very strong Sanskrit base. Sanskrit as a source language in various respects has played a great role in feeding the Prākṛts, the Apabhraṁśas and the modern Indian languages. Dogri is no exception. Dogri literature, which has been advancing at a very good speed for the last three decades, has depended mostly on Sanskrit for enriching its vocabulary. Some of these words have been received in pure form while others are absorbed after some phonetic changes. Some words have come through the neighbouring languages like Hindi, Punjabi, while others have seen slow and continuous development through various stages of the Middle Indo Aryan. Dogri vocabulary thus has a succession of layers of Sanskrit words, some in *Tatsama* form, some in *Ardha-tatsama* form and a majority in *Tadbhava* form.

II.1. *Tatsama words.*

Sanskrit words are used in conversation regarding purely religious ceremonies and social functions having a touch of religion. In common conversation in Dogri, the word कञ्जक developed from Sanskrit कन्यका is used but the girl who is going to be married is called कन्या when she is brought near the Sacred fire for the marriage ceremony. Taking bath in general conversation is हौना but a Sacred bath is स्नान or श्नान. Similarly many *Tatsama*

1. *Nātyaśāstra* edited by Manomohan Ghosh, Chap. 18 v. 51.
2. Grierson in *J. R. A. S.* 1913 P. 882.
3. Woolner A. C. : *Introduction to Prākṛt*, P. 62. f. n. 3.

words like अग्निहोत्र, कुश, दीक्षा कलश, छत्र, अङ्गन्यास etc. are used in religious acts.

III. 1. *Tadbhava forms.*

Dogri has a tendency to drop the initial vowel of words which are not monosylabic. Thus Dogri words

नन्द=Joy, नर्थ=calamity घ्या=chapter मस्या=new moon धीन=dependent.

are development from Sanskrit आनन्द, अनर्थ, अध्याय, अमावस्या and अधीन।

va which occurs initially or after a prefix in a Sanskrit word appears as *ba* in Dogri :

Dogri नरबाह, बराग, बस्तार, बसैन्त बिज्ज, बेला, बरलाप, बेदन, बिस्वास, बचित्तर, बजोग, बिपत are from Sanskrit words निर्वाह विराग विस्तार वसन्त, विद्युत्, वेला, विलाप, वेदना, विश्वास, विचित्र, वियोग, विपत्

Initial *ya* appears as *ja* in Dogri. Dogri words जस, जग्ग, जक्ख, जतन, जोधा, जैन्त्र, जोगी, जुगत, जात्रा, जुद्ध, जदेया are derived from Sanskrit words यश, यज्ञ, यक्ष, यत्न, योगी, युक्ति, यात्रा, युद्ध and यादृश्

Medial *Ya va* are generally changed to *i u* assimilated with other vowels.

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
नयन	नैन	लवण	लून
विनायक	बनैक	भय	भै
भवन	भौन	सीव्यति	स्यूना

Final *ya va* are either dropped or changed to *ai au* :—

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
स्वभाव	सुभा	भाव	भा
हिमालय	हिमाला	शिवालय	शिवाला
भाग्य	भाग	धन्य	धन्न
		मूल्य	मुल्ल

III. 2. Sanskrit *kṣa* is changed to *kha* or *kkha* :—

Sanskrit	Dogri
क्षत्रिय	खत्री
क्षीण	खीन
परोक्ष	परोख

क्षरप्र	खुरपा
पक्षी	पखेरू
अक्षत	अक्खत
नक्षत्र	नखतर
भक्ष्	भक्ख
चक्ष्	चक्ख
प्रत्यक्ष	प्रतक्ख
प्रदक्षिणा	प्रदक्खना

In some words Sanskrit *kṣa* appears as *cha* in Dogri as in :—

Sanskrit	Dogri	English
क्षल्	छल	wash
कक्ष	कच्छ	near

Kashmiri has the same tendency of changing *kṣa* of Sanskrit into *cha*.

III. 3. Sanskrit *śa* appears as *sa* in Dogri.

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
राशि	रास	अंश	ऐंस
नाश	नास	विदेश	बदेस
निराश	नरास	आदेश	अदेस
शीत	सीत	आकाश	गास
नश्	नस्स	अंकुश	अंकस
शल्य	सल्ल	वंश	बैंस
शंख	सैंख		
शब्द	सद्द		

Sanskrit *ṣa* appears as *śa* or sa or *kha*.

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
भाषा	भाशा or भाखा	निषिद्ध	निखिद्ध
निर्दोष	निरदोस	विष	बिख
वर्षा	बरखा		

III. 4. Medial Sanskrit *ra* which is generally droppe d in Hindi and Punjabi is mostly preserved in Dogri. It shows its affinity to the Prākṛts of Aśokan inscriptions of North-West area which preserve the *ra* sound.

Sanskrit	Dogri	English	Hindi
सूत्र	सूतर	thread	सूत
निद्रा	नींदर	sleep	नींद
पत्र	पत्तर	leaf	पत्ता
ताम्र	तरामा	copper	तांबा
ग्राम	ग्रां	village	गांव
प्रस्वेद	परसा	perspiration	पसीना
दूर्वा	द्रुब	grass	दूब
त्रुट्	त्रुट	break	टूट
कर्त्	करत	cut	काट
क्षेत्र	खेतर	field	खेत
प्रति	परति	each	प्रत्येक
मित्र	मितर	friend	मीत
भ्राता	भ्रा	brother	भाई

Some Dogri words get this *ra* due to analogy as in :—

Sanskrit	Dogri	English
कवल	क्रूली	mouthful of water
सम्बन्ध	सरबन्ध	relationship
विलाप	बरलाप	crying
चित	चिरता	remember

III. 5. Voiced aspirates of Sanskrit have undergone remarkable change in the Dogri spoken in the area near about Jammu and in Kangra. In the beginning of words these voiced aspirates *gha, jha, dha, ḍha, bha* are de-voiced and de-aspirated. This disappearance of aspiration gives a law tone to the following vowel. In other positions of the words these voiced aspirates do not lose voice but are de-aspirated and are accompanied by low or high tone of the neighbouring vowel. If the stressed vowel followed the voiced aspirate in Sanskrit or Prākṛt stage, the tone is low as in subắ from स्वभाव but if the stressed vowel preceded the voiced aspirate the tone is high as in lắb from लाभ. Thus Sanskrit words घन झटिति ढिल्ल घन भार have developed into Dogri in such forms as *kánə, cátə, tíllə, tánə, pāra* with low tone but are written as घन झट ढिल्ल धन भार. The written form is very near to Sanskrit and the spoken form in hilly area is also similar to Sanskrit.

III. 6. Sanskrit and Prākṛt aspirate *ha* has also undergone similar change in tone. Initial *ha* and final *ha* are replaced by low and high tone respectively

Sanskrit	Dogri	
हस्त	àtthə	(हत्थ)
ग्रहण	graìn	ग्रैंह्‌न

Intervocalic *ha* appeared as high tone or low tone depending on the position of the stressed vowel. An interesting two-way development of tone based on the position of stress accent and the aspirate is supplied by two Dogri words *mắrāj*, king- *mərā́j*, bridegroom derived from one Sanskrit word *mahārāju.* The sound ha in Prākṛt words whether it was a development from Sanskrit voiced aspirate or unvoiced aspirates or sibilants met the same fate in Dogri.

Thus we find :—

Sanskrit	Prākṛt	Dogri
पलाश	पलाह	palắ
शेखर	सेहर	sérā
लघुक	लहुक	lókā
शिरीष	सिरीह	sirí

III. 7. As regards *vowel Phonemes*, Dogri like Hindi has lost and reduced *ai au* to *e o*. Two new vowels short ĕ and short ŏ occur before conjunct consonants but no new symbols are used in writing.

III. 8. Sanskrit *a* is changed to *ae* if it is followed by a nasal followed by unvoiced consonant.

Sanskrit	Dogri
मन्त्र	मैन्तर
सन्त	सैन्त
अन्तर	ऐन्तर
पञ्च	पैञ्च
यन्त्र	जैन्तर
वंश	बैन्स
अंश	ऐन्स
अन्त	ऐन्त
चञ्चल	चैञ्चल

III. 9. Other phonetic changes due to assimilation, dissimilation, metathesis, anaptyxis also appear.

9. Assimilation

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
तप्त	तत्ता	गर्भे	गब्बे
लग्न	लग्ग	भक्त	भत्र

Sanskrit *dya* changes into *jja* due to assimilation.

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
विद्युत्	बिज्ज	स्विद्यति	सिज्जादा

Similarly Sanskrit *dhya* changes into *jja* with high or low tone

Sanskrit	Dogri
बुध्यति	बुज्झादा

III. 10. Metathesis.

Sanskrit	Dogri
उत्तारयति	तुआरादा
उदासीन	दुआस
उत्कीर्ण	कनेरना

III. 11. Anaptyxis

Sanskrit	Dogri	Sanskrit	Dogri
पवित्र	पवित्तर	कर्म	करम
कलत्र	कलत्तर	प्रताप	परताप

IV. *Declension of stems.*

The *ā* stems and *i* stems of Sanskrit generally drop their final *ā* and *i* in Dogri Tadbhava words. e.g.

Sanskrit	English	Dogri
खट्वा	bed	खट्ट
जंघा	upper part of leg	जंघ
निद्रा	sleep	नीन्दर
पीडा	pain	पीड
लज्जा	shame	लज्ज
शिला	rock	सिल
अग्निः	fire	अग्ग
गीतिः	song	गीत
मतिः	intellect	मत
अति	much	अत्त
जातिः	caste	जात
अङ्गुलि	finger	औङ्गल

Stems ending in a (of अच् घञ् etc.) have lost old final termination and received the new Masc. termination ā.

Sanskrit	Dogri
हास:	हासा

Stems in *-in -vin -min* become stems in ī. e.g.

Sanskrit	Dogri
धनिन्	धनी
मानिन्	मानी
तपस्विन्	तपस्वी

Declension.

Like other Modern Indo Aryan languages, Dogri also has lost inflectional cases and has many post-positions to replace them.

The oblique form of all Masculine nouns is formed by adding ऐ एँ

Nom	जागतै नै	जागतैं नै
Acc.	जागतै गी	जागतैं गी
Inst.	जागते गिते	जागतैं गिते
Abl.	जायतै कशा	जागतैं कशा
Gen.	जागतै दा	जागतैं दा
Loc.	जागतै बिच	जागतैं बिच

1st personal pronoun has two forms अऊं derived from Sanskrit अहम् and मैं derived from Sonskrit मया

V. *Verbal System*

Verbal system of Dogri is based mainly on the Participle forms used with auxilliary verbs. Rajaśekhara's statement कृत्प्रिया उर्दाच्या: holds true of Duggar. The gender and number of the verbal form changes with the gender and number of the noun or pronoun which serves as subject or object in the Sentence.

जागत खन्दा ऐ ।	जागत खन्देन न ।
कुड़ी खन्दी ऐ ।	कुड़िया खन्दियां न ।
The boy eats	The boys eat
The girl eats	The girls eat.
जागतै रुट्टी खादी	The boy ate bread
जागतै अम्ब खादा	The boy ate mango
कुडिऐ रुट्टी खादी	The girl ate bread
कुड़िऐ अम्ब खादा	The girl ate mango.

Here we find a mixture of कृदन्त and तिङन्त forms. The verbal forms ए and न do not change with change in gender but in past tense the forms are Purely participle.

जागत खन्दा हा	The boy ate
कुड़ी खन्दी ही	The girl ate
जागत खन्दे हे	The boys ate
कुड़ियां खन्दियां हियां	The girls ate.

Dogri has predominance of passive forms which are formed by *oa* to the verb e.g. सनोग्रा करदा ऐ । it is being heard.

There are many verbs formed from nouns by adding *a* or *o.* e.g.

न्हेरा घनोई ग्राया: The darkness became dense

घनोना	from	घन
दखालना	from	दुःख
पत्याना	from	प्रत्यय
चतेना	from	चित

Gerunds are formed by adding इयै which is very near to Sanskrit suffix ya or tya e.g.

Sanskrit	Dogri
निपीड्य	निपीड़ियै
ग्रानीय	ग्रानियै

Many Sanskrit words are preserved in Dogri in the original form but their meaning is changed to some extent. The term ग्रागम is used in the sense of forethought. The term निमन्त्र is used in the sense of inviting Brāhmaṇas for a particular ceremony. The term सर is used in the original sense. The verbs लभ् नी पीड् with prefix नि, त्रुट् कृ पृ लिख् रट् मल्ल् दल् चर् भृ घृ वस् etc. are used in Dogri in the same sense as in Sanskrit.

Some rare Sanskrit words are also preserved in Dogri either in original or in slightly changed form. In *Vajasaneyi Saṁhitā* the word शोष is used for Summer. It is preserved in Dogri in the form सोह्ग्रा The term बष्कयणी found in *Mādhyandinī Saṁhitā* and explained by महीधर as चिरप्रसूता is preserved in Dogri in the form बाखड़ी and has preserved the original meaning.

Many Sanskrit words have been preserved in Dogri with a changed meaning. कल्पना in Dogri means to express sorrow at

the death of some one. चक्ख from Sanskrit चक्ष् 'to see' means in Dogri to see with an evil eye. भक्ख from Sanskrit भक्ष् 'to eat' means in Dogri to eat invisibly e.g. रुट्टी भक्खना—to see another's bread as if to eat that invisibly. त्रिकाल is used for the evening. बसेख derived from Sanskrit विशेष is used in the same sense in which it has been used by Kalidasa in Abhijāna Śākuntalam. Other meanings of विशेष are not retained by Dogri. कला art is used in the sense of a wonderful act creating surprise—कला दखाना कण a minute particle is present in कणी (grain of rice) and कणीदार ह्यो purified butter in which small particles are visible separately.

SANSKRIT IN RELATION TO SO—CALLED AUSTRO—DRAVIDIAN WORDS IN BENGALI LANGUAGE

वंग-भाषायां प्राप्यमाणानां तथाकथित-अष्ट्रिक्-द्राविड़-प्रभृति-भाषातः समागतानां शब्दानां संस्कृतेन सह सम्बन्धः

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भाषा-विद्भिः संसारस्य सर्वाभाषा भारतीयाऽर्य्य-सेमिटिक्-द्राविड़-अष्ट्रिक्-चैनिकादि-वर्गेषु विभाजिताः सन्ति । भारतवर्षे भाष्यमाणा भाषाः मुख्यतः भारतीयाऽर्य्य-अष्ट्रिक्-द्राविड़-भोट-चीनीय-वर्गीयाः सन्ति । आर्या उत्तर-गोलार्धतः आगत्य यूरोप-एशियादि-खण्डेषु उपनिवेशान् स्थापितवन्तः, इति ये प्रतिपादयन्ति, तेषाम् इयं धारणा । किन्तु आर्याणां वैदेशिकत्वे किमपि दृढ़ं प्रमाणं न विद्यते ।

अतएव वहवो न मन्यन्ते इमां विचार-धाराम् । ते कथयन्ति यत् पुण्य-भूमिर् भारतवर्षमेव आर्याणाम् आदि-निवासः । आर्याः कथमपि वैदेशिका न सन्ति । अस्तु, यद्यपि नाऽयं मम प्रबन्धस्य मुख्य-विषय, तथापि सम्बद्ध-विषयत्वात् संक्षेपतः तच्चर्चा अत्यावश्यिकी । अतएव तद्-विषये किञ्चिद् वच्मि ।

आर्याणां वैदेशिकत्व-समर्थकः प्रख्यात-भाषावित् 'Przylusky' महोदयो निज 'Pre-Aryan and Pre-Dravidian' नामक-पुस्तके कथयति यत् यस्मिन् काले आर्याः भारते आगता आसन्, तदानीं ते अस्य देशस्य वहूनां वस्तूनां जन्तूनां च नामानि न जानन्ति स्म । तेषां शब्द-भाण्डारे तत्-तद्-विषयक-शब्दा अपि न आसन् । अतः ते स्थानीय-जनानां भाषायाः शब्दान् निजभाषायां गृहीतवन्तः । यथा— मयूर, मरुत्, मकुट, मुकुर, मातंग, कदली, कर्पास, ताम्बूल, शाल्मली-प्रभृति-शब्द-जातम् ।

'मयूर'-शब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः सामन्तपाली (सन्थाली) भाषायाः 'मा' इति उपसर्गेण सह 'रुक्' धातुयोगेन भवति । अष्ट्रिक्-भाषावर्गे 'मा' वा 'मु' इत्युपसर्गो विशालत्व-महत्त्व-गुरुत्व-सूचकः । तथा च 'रुक्' धातुः गर्जन-क्रन्दनादिद्योतकः । अतः,

'मारुक्' शब्दस्य अर्थो भवति महान् आक्रन्दन-शीलो जन्तुः। यतो 'मयूरः' सम्यग् रौति, अर्थात् महारावं करोति, अत एव 'मारुक्' शब्दः केकि-वाचकः **सञ्जातः**। तस्यैव 'मारुक्' शब्दस्य अनुकरणेन आर्याः 'मयूर' शब्दं कृतवन्तः 'केकी' इति अर्थे।

'मरुत्' इति शब्द-सम्बन्धे तस्य विचार एवम्प्रकारः—

वायु-पर्यायः 'मरुत्', इति शब्दः मालय-भाषायाः आगतो भवेत्। पारुगं-शब्दस्याऽर्थो मालय-भाषायां वर्तते 'पवनः'। मारुक्-शब्दः (मा रुक्) गर्जन-शीलं वा क्रन्दनशीलं पदार्थं **द्योतयति**। पारुग-शब्देन **सार्धं** समता-वशतः अयमेव 'मारुक्' शब्दो जातः, वायु-पर्यायः। तदनन्तरं संस्कृत-'रुद्' धातुना सह साम्येन 'मारुक्'-शब्द एव 'मरुत्' इति शब्दः सञ्जातः।

मनखमेर्-भाषायां 'का' 'ता' प्रभृत्युपसर्ग-योगेन उद्भिद-वाचका जन्तुवाचकाश्च शब्दा **निष्पद्यन्ते**। अतः 'का', 'ता' योगेन निष्पन्नाः कर्पास-कदली-ताम्बूलादयः शब्दा अष्ट्रिक्-भाषातः आर्य-भाषायां गृहीताः।

दुःखस्य विषयो **विद्यते** यद् आधुनिकास्त था-कथित-भाषा-तत्त्वविद आलस्य-वशतः सुचिरम् अविचार्यैव किमपि प्रतिपादयितुम् इच्छन्ति। इतोऽ**प्यधिकतरो** दुःखस्य विषयो वर्तते यत् केचिद् भारतीया अपि विना विचारं प्रतिपादयतां तेषां कथनमेव प्रमाणं मत्वा तादृशमेव वक्तुं लिखितुं च प्रवर्तन्ते।

सर्वैः स्मरणीयं यद एकस्या भाषायाः कश्चित् शब्द-विशेषो भाषान्तरेऽपि व्यवह्रियते। परन्तु स शब्द-विशेषो मूलतः कस्या भाषाया विद्यते, इति निर्णेतुम् उपायो वर्त्तते—तस्य शब्दस्य व्युत्पत्ति-**लभ्याऽर्थ**-ज्ञानम्। यस्य शब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिर् व्युत्पत्तिलभ्योऽर्थश्च यस्यां भाषायाम् उपलभ्यते शब्द-विशषोऽसौ तस्या एव भाषाया इति ज्ञातव्यम्। नाऽन्यः पन्था **विद्यते** निर्णयाय। व्युत्पत्तेर् व्युत्पत्ति-लभ्यार्थस्य च विचारे कृते स्पष्टं प्रमाणितं भवति—सर्व एव उपर्युक्ताः शब्दाः संस्कृतभाषाया एवेति।

यथा, **मयूरः** = मी + उरण्, मी **गत्यां मत्यां** च, मयति, **माययति**। माययति सुन्दरं गच्छति इति मयूरः।

मरुत्—मृ+उति, म्रियते विना तेन, अत एव 'मरुत्' कथ्यते 'वायुः'।

मुकुटः, मकुटः— मकि + उटन्, पृषोदरादित्वाद् अकारस्य उकारः। 'मकि सज्जीकरणे। मुकुटः, शीर्षदेशं सज्जीकरोति = **सुशोभयति** इति करणात् सज्जीकरणार्थक 'मकि' धातोरेव उत्पन्नः। अतः मुकुट-मकुट-शब्दौ संस्कृतभाषाया एव।

मुकुरः मकुरः— मकि + उरच्। दर्पणः सज्जीकरणार्थं प्रयुज्यते। अतः सज्जीकरणार्थक-'मकि' धातोर् उत्पन्नः मकुर-शब्दो वा मुकुर शग्दो दर्पण-वाचकः, संस्कृतश्च।

मातङ्गः— मद + अङ्गच् (दकारस्य तकारः) मादयति अनेन इति मतङ्गः। तस्यापत्यम् मातङ्गः।

कदली— काय **दल्यते** इति कदली। काय = जलाय।

कर्पासः— कृ + पास = कर्पास।

ताम्बूल— तम् +ऊलच्, बुगागमः, दीर्घश्च । तम् इच्छायाम्, देवैः, मनुष्यैः, राक्षसैश्च तम्यते अर्थात् **इष्यते** इति ताम्बूलम् ।

शाल्मली— शाल + मलिच् ङीप् = शाल्मली । शालते (=शोभते) चतुर्दिक्षु इति शाल्मली । विशालतया सुन्दरैः कुसुमैश्च परमं शोभते शाल्मली-तरुर्, इति यथार्थं तन्नाम ।

एवमेव वंगभाषायामपि बहवः शब्दा आर्येतर-भाषात आगता इति केचित् कथयन्ति । **तन्मध्ये** कतिपय-शब्दानाम् उल्लेखमत्र करोमि । यथा—

कुड़ि— 'कुड़ि' शब्दः सामन्तपाल (=सान्ताली) शब्द-भाण्डाराद् आगत इति **केषाञ्चन** मतम् । किन्तु न हि तत् समीचीनम् ।

यतः 'कुड़ा' शब्दः वंगभाषायाम् विघा = **विग्रहा**-वाचकः । **अर्थात्** भूमि-परिमापक-शब्द-रूपेण व्यवह्रियते । अयं 'कुड़ा'-शब्दः संस्कृत 'कुडप'- शब्दाद् आगत इति भाषाविदां मतम् । किन्तु त एव भाषाविदः 'कुड़ि' शब्दः 'कुडप' शब्दाद् आगत इति न **स्वीकुर्वन्ति**, इति आश्चर्यम् । यतः 'कुड़ा' शब्दः 'कुड़ि' शब्दश्च **इत्युभावपि** परिमाण-वाचकौ । पार्थक्यम् इदं वर्तते यत् 'कुड़ा' शब्दः भूमि-मापन-विषये व्यवह्रियते, कुड़ि-शब्दश्च द्रव्यादि-गणनायाम् उपयुज्यते । एतावन्मात्र-**पार्थक्यं** भाषाविज्ञाने पार्थक्यं न मन्यते । यथा '**मुद्रा**' रूप्य-निर्मितत्वाद् रूप्य-नाम्ना प्रचलिताऽभूत् । किन्तु **साम्प्रतं** कर्गल-निर्मिता मुद्राऽपि रूप्यं, रुपया, Rupees इति **नाम्ना** व्यवह्रियते । यथा तिलात् **उत्पद्यते** यः स्नेहः, तस्य नाम भवति तैलमिति । किन्तु सर्षपादि-निर्गतोऽपि तादृशः स्निग्धः पदार्थः तैलमेव कथ्यते । तथैव परिमाण-वाचकत्वात् 'कुड़ा'-कुड़ि-शब्दौ कुडप-शब्दादेव आगतौ, इति स्वीकरणीयमेव भाषाविद्भिः ।

टिप्पणी :— 'कुड़ा' '**विघा**'-शब्दौ वङ्गभाषायाः । उत्तर-भारतीयाः संस्कृते 'विग्रहा' इति कथयन्ति । एक 'कुड़ा' परिमिता भूमिः एक एकडतः **किञ्चिन्** न्यूनतरा भवति=One kuda or Bigha is a bit less than one acre.

खोका— '**खोका**' शब्दो **बालकार्थे** 'कुक्षि'—शब्दाद् आगत इति कोषकारा मन्यन्ते । तथापि केचिद् भाषातात्त्विकाः कथयन्ति '**खोका**' शब्दः अष्ट्रिक्-भाषात आगत इति । ओरावँ (Oraon) भाषायाम् बालकार्थे 'कुक्कोस्' इति शब्दः व्यवह्रियते 'कुक्कोस्' शब्दोऽपि स्पष्ट-रूपेण कुक्षि-शब्दाद् उत्पन्न, इत्यत्र नास्ति संदेह-लेशोऽपि ।

डाङ्गा— 'डाङ्गा' शब्दस्याऽर्थो भवति उच्चभूमिः । कैश्चित् कथ्यते, अष्ट्रिक्-भाषात आगतोऽयं शब्द इति । किन्तु शब्दोऽयं संस्कृतादेवोत्पन्नः । यथा डम् (=डयन शीलम्) अङ्गं यस्याः सा-डाङ्गा । अर्थाद् उत्थिताङ्गा भूमिः । अतः 'डाङ्गा' शब्दोऽपि संस्कृत-जात एव ।

वङ्ग-भाषायाः 'देशज'-नाम्ना आख्यातानां कतिपय-धातूनां संस्कृत-मूलकता ।

वङ्गभाषायां कतिपये धातवः सन्ति, येषां व्युत्पत्तिर् न दृश्यते, इति बहवः कथयन्ति । तैः स धातु-निचयः कथ्यते 'देशज' इति । परं सर्व एव ते धातवः संस्कृत-मूला, इति मे मतम् । यथा—

छोटा—वङ्ग भाषाया 'छोटा' धातुः धावनार्थे। **धातुरयं** 'देशज' इति कथ्यते। किन्तु वस्तुतः 'छोटा' धातुः संस्कृत छुट् धातुतः समागतः। 'छुट्' धातु छेदनार्थे वर्त्तते पाणिनि-धातुपाठे। यदा मनुष्य एकस्मात् स्थानात् स्थानान्तरं धावति, तदा पूर्व-स्थानस्य सम्पर्कं छित्वा गच्छति। अत एव 'छोटा' इति 'छुट्'-धातुत उत्पन्नः, धावित्वा गमनार्थे। अतः साक्षात् संस्कृतजोऽयं 'छोटा' धातुः कदापि देशजो न विद्यते।

छोंड़ा— क्षेपणार्थे । संस्कृते छुर् छेदने इति धातुर् वर्तते। छेदनादि-क्रिया मोचन-द्योतिका। अतः 'छोंड़ा' इति धातुः संस्कृत 'छुर' धातु तउत्पन्नः। अत एव **'छोंड़ा' धातुरपि** संस्कृतज एव, न तु देशजः।

'जोड़ा' **धातुस् तु** संस्कृत 'यौड्' धातुतो जातः इति स्पष्टमेव। 'यौट्' 'यौड्' धातू शब्दस्तोम-महानिधि-कोषे वर्तेते। पाणिनि-धातुपाठेऽपि।

बुड़ा— अयमपि धातुर् न हि देशजः, अपितु **वृध्** धातुतो जातः।

कुड़ा—उत्थापनाऽर्थे कुड रक्षणे इति धातुत उत्पन्नः।

डुबा— ब्रुड् मज्जने इति धातुतो **विपर्यास-विधिना** वङ्गभाषायां डुवा धातुर् जातः।

एड़ा— एठ् गतौ इति धातोर् आगत 'एड़ा' धातुर्, इति 'एढ़ा' धातोरपि संस्कृतजातत्वं सुस्पष्टमेव। इत्थम् पाणिनि-धातु-पाठस्याऽवलोकनेन प्रतीयते, वङ्ग-भाषायाः सर्व एव धातवः संस्कृत-**प्रभवा** एवेति।

अस्तु, **प्रबन्धस्याऽस्य** मुख्यमुद्देश्यमस्ति भाषाविषयक-**वास्तविकतायाश्** चर्चा-द्वारा सर्वासाम् भाषाणाम् मूलमेकमेवेति प्रतिपाद्य भाषा-विवादस्य दूरीकरणम्।

'बाइबॅल्'— ग्रन्थे 'टावर् ऑब् बाबेल्' (Towre of Babel) इति पाठे लिखितम् "आसीद् एकदा संसारे एकैव भाषा" इति वाक्यं पूर्ण-सत्यम् मन्यमाना, अहमपि कथयामि "आसीदेकदा संसारे एकैव भाषेति"। तस्या आदि-भाषाया अन्वेषणे समयः **प्रयासो** वा नाऽपेक्ष्यते। यतः भाषाऽसौ सैव भाषा, या विना राजनीतिक-कारणं विना च **व्यापारिक**-कारणम् अधुनाऽपि समस्ते जगति **चर्च्यतेऽर्च्यते** च। **यस्याश्** चर्चार्थम् **अर्चार्थं** च समस्त-जगतो विद्वांसोऽत्र समवेताः सन्ति भारत-राजधान्यां दिल्ली महानगर्याम्। सा हि भाषा संस्कृत-भाषा। काल-क्रमेण तस्या एव संस्कृत-भाषाया असंख्यानि **रूपाणि जातानि**। **येषु रूपेषु** कतिचित् सर्वथैव लुप्तानि। बहूनि नाम-शेषाणि, अनेकानि स्थाने स्थाने प्रचलन्ति च।

किन्तु दुःखस्य विषयो विद्यते यत् एकस्यैव परमपितुः परमेश्वरस्य सन्ताना एकस्या एव भाषायाः **किमप्येकं रूपं** मातृभाषा **रूपेण प्रयुञ्जानाः** तस्या एव मूल-भाषाया **रूपान्तर**-व्यवहारिभिः प्रतिवेशि-प्रान्त-वासिभिः भ्रातृभिः सह भाषा-विषये कलहायन्ते।

मानवता-प्रेमाणो यदि भाषा-विवादमिमं शमयितुम् इच्छेयुस् तर्हि भाषा-बाहुल्ये स्थितेऽपि **सर्वासां** भाषाणां मध्ये एकता स्थापयितुं **शक्यते** संस्कृत-भाषा-सूत्रेण।

अतः संस्कृत-धातु-प्रत्यय-द्वारा स्व-स्व-भाषाऽन्तर्गत-शब्दानां व्युत्पत्ति-प्रदर्शन-पूर्वकं संसारस्य सर्वासां **भाषाणां** संस्कृत-मूलकत्व प्रतिपादयन्तः सुधियः संस्कृत-निष्ठां जनयन्तु, स्व-स्व-मातृभाषा-क्षेत्र-वासिनां हृदि, इति मेऽतिनम्रोऽनुरोधः । यथा सर्वेषां मानवानाम् ईश्वर एकः, सूर्य एकः, वायुरेकः, तथैव सर्वेषां मानवानाम् मूलभाषाऽपि एकैव, इति विचारे जाते, -विमान-व्योमवाणी-युगेऽस्मिन् समस्तं जगद् एकी भवितुमर्हति ।

SOME IDENTICAL EXPRESSIONS
IN SANSKRIT, HINDI & URDU

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It is interesting to note that Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu have some identical expressions in common. There may be different reasons for such identical expressions, either translations of Sanskrit works in Hindi or in case of Urdu, an indirect influence of Sanskrit through Persian or the influence of Hindi, as both are sister languages. A careful study reveals that Persian has an influence of Sanskrit in ideas; as a result many expressions are identical with Sanskrit. For example, the following Persian verse of Bahar — Danish :

barāye pākī lafz šab beroz ārand ké murgh wamāhī bāšand khufté ū bīdād.

is identical with the following verse of *Gītā* :

या निशा सर्वभूतानां तस्यां जागर्त्ति संयमी ।
यस्यां जाग्रति भूतानि सा निशा पश्यतो मुने: ।।

'At night, when every body sleeps, a poet (in Persian) and a restrainted man (in Sanskrit) keeps himself awake.'

Since Persian, has influenced Urdu, it may be presumed that Sanskrit has influenced Urdu also.

Moreover, Sanskrit poets seem to have been fascinated by Persian, which is evident from a Sanskrit verse quoted below :

अन्यस्त्रीस्पृहयालवो जगति के पद्भ्यामगम्या च का,
को धातुदर्शने, समस्तमनुजै: का प्रार्थ्यतेऽहर्निशम् ।
दृष्ट्वैकां यवनेश्वरो निजपुरे पद्माननां कामिनीं,
मित्रं प्राह किमादरेण सहसा-यारा न दीदं शमा ।।[1]

As a matter of fact Yāra (Jār), Nadi, Dansha and Ma are the terms

suited to the context and when combined together, become a Persian expression — Yara, Na Deedam Shama, i.e. Friends, I never saw before such a lamp of beauty as Padmāvatī is.

This is enough to prove that Sanskrit poets had a liking for Persian to create poetical charm and ideas. The *Allopaniṣad*[2] written in Sanskrit on the pattern of Upaniṣads, may be said to be the best example in point.

As regards Hindi, the famous poets of this language, including Keśava and Biharī, inherit the literary tradition of Sanskrit. Keśava's *Rasikapriyā*, though a Hindi composition, was first commented upon in Sanskrit by Samartha, a disciple of Ratnamaṇi in 1698 A.D. It was rendered into Sanskrit by Madhusūdan Kavīndra of Bengal under the name of *Rasacandrikā* in 1695 A.D. The rendering is so impressive that one may take it to be an outright original work of Sanskrit. It would be proper to have a comparative view of both the works, with some examples, to note the similarity in expressions. The following verse of *Rasikapriyā* :

बोली न हौं वे बुलाइ रहे, हरि पाइ परे अरु ओलियो ओड़ी
केशव भेंटिबे कों भरि अंक छुड़ाइ रहे जक हों नहिं छोड़ी
सूघे चितेबें को केतो कियो सिर चांपि उठाइ अंगूठनि ठोड़ी
मैं भरि चित्त तऊ चितयो न रही गड़ि नैननि लाज निगोड़ी[3]

That is, "he tried to make me speak but I did not, he then fell at my feet and begged of me to be kind, he embarrassed me to be embarrassed but I yeilded not at all. He wanted me to see him eye to eye, raising my face up with his hands, even then I could not look at him to my full satisfaction due to intense shame in eyes." It is quite identical with the following verse of *Rasacandrikā* :

नावोचं हरिवाचिताऽपि पतता पादेंचलं पातितं
तेनाश्लेष्टुमलं हठं स कलयन्नास्ते मया नोज्झितः ।
शुद्धेक्षाय कियत्कृतं घृतशिरोऽप्यंगुष्ठकोत्थापितं
स्वैरं नैक्षि तथाप्यभूद्दृशि च मेऽभाग्या त्रपारोपिता ।।[4]

Further in *Rasikapriyā* :

चंद को सो भाग भाल भृकुटी कमान ऐसी,
मैन कैसे पैन सर नैननि बिलासु है
नासिका सरोज गंधवाह से सुगंधवाह,
दारुयों सो दसन कैसौ बीजुरी सी हासु है ।
भाई ऐसी ग्रीव भुज, पान सो उदर अरु,
पंकज से पाइ, गति हंस की सी जासु है ।
देखी है गुपाल एक गोपिका मैं देवता सी,
सोने सो सरीर सब सोंधे की सी बासु है ।।[5]

i.e., 'Gopal ! I have seen a Gopikā with divine beauty whose auspicious forehead is just like the moon, the eye-brows like a bow, the eyes as wanton as the arrows of Lord Cupid, the nose like a lotus with fragrant mouth, the teeth like the grains of pomegranate fruit, the laughter like the flash of lightning, the neck and arms moulded perfectly, belly like a betel leaf, feet like the lotus with swan like grace in her movement'.

The Sanskrit rendering in *Rasa-Candrikā*[6] follows like this :

भालं चंद्रकलेव कार्मुकमिव भ्रूर्दिग्विलासा यथा,
तीक्ष्णाः पंचशरेषवोऽपि सरसीव भूगंधवाहादपि ? ।
घ्राण शोभनगंधवाहमखिला दन्तास्तथा दाड़िम—
बीज प्रायरुचस्तथैव हसितं सौदामिनीशोभितं ।।
ग्रीवा कुन्दविनिर्मितेव च भुजौ पर्णोपमं सूदरं
यस्याः पंकजसन्निभौ च चरणावास्ते च हंसी गतिः ।
दृष्टा कापि च गौपिका किल मया गोपाल देवीव तव
सर्वांगं कलधौतसन्निभमिदं सद्गंधि सद्गन्धतः ।।

These examples show that Hindi has also influenced Sanskrit. in the matter of give and take of ideas.

But the well known hearsay*, ascribed to Keśava, though not found in any one of his works, seems quite identical with the following Sanskrit verse, quoted by Jagannātha Miśra of Orissa, in his *Rasakalpadruma* in the context of Vṛddha-Parihāsa, riduculing an old man. Jagannātha Miśra is supposed to have lived in between 1725 to 1775 A.D.

आपक्वता शिरसिजे त्रिवली कपोले दन्तावली विगलिता न ततो विषादः ।
एणीदृशो युवतयः पथि मां निरीक्ष्य तातेति भाषणपरा इति कुंतघातः ।।

"There is no other lance-piercing pain to me than the grandfatherly address, तात, by the delightful young ladies due to my gray-hair."

Another verse, which is much earlier, with the same import, is found in *Vairāgya Śataka* of Bhartṛhari :

वर्णं सितं समभिवीक्ष्य शिरोरुहाणां
स्थानं जरापरिभवस्य तदेव पुंसाम् ।
आरोपितास्थिशकलं परिहृत्य यान्ति
चाण्डालकूपमिव दूरतरं तरुण्यः ।[8]

केसौ केसन अस करी, जस अरिहूँ न कराहिं,
चन्द्रवदनि मृगलोचनी बाबा कहि कहि जाहिं ।

'young ladies, conceal themselves even from the sight of a man with grey-hair, like a well of out-caste man. Truly, grey-hair are the main source of humiliation to men in general !

The Urdu poet Josh Malihabadi, like his predecessors of Sanskrit and Hindi, 'wants to avoid those days when he has to be addressed with elderly epithets by his beloved' :

māšūq kahā āp hamare hae buzurg
nā cīz ko woh din na dekhānā mere rab

Now with a reference to Bihari' well-known Dohā :

नहि पराग नहि मधुर रस नहि विकास यहि काल
अली कली में ही बंध्यौ आगे कौन हवाल ।[10]

Which is identical with the following 'figurative Sanskrit verse, quoted in *Rasakalpadruma*, by Jagannātha Miśra, already referred to, ascribed to a Vidyāpati :

अन्यासु तावदुपमर्दसहासु भृंग !
लोलं विनोदय मनः सुमनोलतासु ।
मुग्धामजातरजसं कलिकामकाले,
व्यर्थं कदर्थयसि किं नवमल्लिकायाः ?[11]

"it is better to entertain yourself with another blossom creeper than to tease a Nava-Mallikā bud, which is so innocent, immature and without any speck of pollen still'.

It has an echo of the following lines of Kalidasa :

पदं सहेत भ्रमरस्य पेलवं शिरीषपुष्पं न पुनः पतत्रिणः ॥

In latter periods, some Sanskrit poets were so much impressed by Bihari's style that they literally translated his poem in Sanskrit with original metre.

Pt. Mathura Nath Bhatta of Jayapur Maharaja College, is prominent among them. This is how he renders the Dohā in Sanskrit, quoted above :

न परागो न हि मधुरमधु न विकासमियमेति ।
कलिकयैव बद्धोऽस्त्यलिः किमपरतो भवितेति ॥[12]

The rendering, though identical with original Hindi, surely doesn't possess the Sanskrit literary style. The style is evidently Hindi.

As regards poverty of imagination, many Urdu poets, with an exception of Majaz, have been alleged to have suffered from this poverty. It may be illustrated by the following impression of an unknown Urdu poet, about a minor girl ;

jawānī āyegī jab qahre khudā hogā

'your youth will bring calamity when you grow young' and also,

abhī kamsin ho, nādā ho, kahī̃ khodogī dil merā
tumhāre hī liye rakhā hae le lenā jawān hokar

'Since you are minor and childish, I am afraid of my heart being thrown away, if given to you now. It is undoubtedly preserved for you, not to be denied at all, as soon as you grow into an young lady'.

It is a different issue that Isararul Haque Majaz of Lucknow, visualizes a small Sita[15], a piece of moon and a branch of flower in a minor girl, which is without a parallel in Sanskrit as well as in Urdu.

This poverty of imagination can be found among the Sanskrit poets as well in quite an usual manner. The description of a minor girl is notable in the following verse :

नोदञ्चौ च कुचौ न चारुगमनं रोमावली नोद्गता,
न स्पष्टं च वलित्रयं न कुटिलादृष्टिर्न पुष्टं वपुः ।
अस्याः कापि कलेव लोकमखिलं संमोहयत्यद्भुतं,
तारुण्ये सति किं करिष्यति मनो यूनामियं बालिका ।। [16]

As compared with that of the Urdu verse mentioned before, तारुण्ये सति किं करिष्यति मनो यूनामियं बालिका etc, it is the same as : jawānī āyegī jab qahr e khudā hogā.

As regards love poetry in Urdu, the writers of this branch, are very much critical of the Sheikhs (the ritualists) for their very rigid ritualistic practices to gain heavenly bliss. Josh Malihabadi, for example, ridicules a Sheikh in the following manner :

Kyā šekh kī talkh zindagānī guzrī
be cāre kī šab na suhāni guzrī
do zakh ke tashabbur me buṛhāpā bītā
jannat kī duā o me jawānī guzrī.

'The poor Sheikh passed his life so bitterly that not even a single night he could enjoy. He passed his youth in offering prayers for attaining heavenly bliss and old days worried him about hell'.

---

15. Kaesī sundar kyā kahiye na nhī sītā kyā kahiye,
cānd kā tukṛā phūl kī ḍālī kamsin sīdhī bholī bhālī,

The joke at the cost of the ritualists is also found in Sanskrit. The verse mentioned below is almost identical in its contents with that of Josh Malihabadi :

प्रलम्भजपरंपराग्रथितपापपुण्यप्रथा
वृथा कलुषिताशया अमरलोकभोगाशया ।
विहाय मदिरेक्षणाधर-रसास्वादनं,
मुधा दुरितसंशयादुपवहन्ति ।।[18]

"instead of tasting the nectar of the lips of the delightful ladies (a heaven at hand), these persons, deceived by the tradition of merits and demerits, observe fast to gain an uncertain heaven'.

Poet Jigar Muradabadi, visualizes unity in diversity and diversity in unity in the following lines :

Kisrat me bhi wahdat kā tamāšā nazar āyā
jisī raṅg me dekhā tujhe eksā nazar āyā

and Sanskrit poet Amaru found his image of love transcending the whole universe. There is not a single particle, where she cannot be visualized ! She is in home, in the directions, in front and behind, in bed, in ways and lastly he finds himself absolutely lost in her :

प्रासादे सा दिशि दिशि च सा पृष्ठतः सा पुरः सा
पर्यंके सा पथि पथि च सा तद्वियोगातुरस्य ।
हंहो चेतः प्रकृतिरपरा नास्ति मे कापि सा सा
सा सा सा सा जगति सकले कोऽयमद्वैतवादः ।।[20]

Short-sightedness deprives a man of the realization of truth. It appears that Bhartṛhari and Jigar both were blind, short of sight, at a certain stage as they both confess it in the following lines in an identical manner :

इदानीमस्माकं पटुतरविवेकांजनजुषां
समीभूता दृष्टिस्त्रिभुवनमपि ब्रह्म मनुते ।[21]

jab dekh nā sake the tū bhī thā qaṭrā
jab ākh khulī qaṭrā bhī daryā nazar āyā.

With eyes opening, the universe seemed to be really manifested in both Bhartṛhari and Jigar.

The position of mother and motherland has always been regarded higher even than heaven in Sanskrit :

जननी जन्मभूमिश्च स्वर्गादपि गरीयसी

Urdu poet Dabir and Anis do not mention 'mother-land' but speak of mother in the same strain :

Zere qadam wāldā firdaus e barīn hae
Kahte hae̐ mā̃ ke pāwo ke nīce bahīšt hae.

The courteous 'you first manner' so much prevalent in Lucknow, in day-to-day life, may be also found in Sanskrit. A couple, in an effort to save each other from a burning house, were burnt to ashes, insisting upon each other to take to their heels first, in the 'you first manner' :

त्वमग्रतो निःसर कातराक्षि, त्वमेव प्राणेश्वर निःसराग्रे ।
इत्थं तयोर्वेश्मनि वह्निदीप्ते मिथोऽनुरागाद् मिथुनं विपन्नम् ॥[25]

'Darling ! you get out first. No Darling, you first,' and so on.

There are innumerable other instances also, quite identical with each other, subject to further study.

Footnotes

1. *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, P. 206 Verse 39.

A literal translation of the verse in reference 1.

Who long for other men's wives ? Yāra (Jāra). Who moves but without feet ? Nadī (River). which root (in Sanskrit) means to bite ? Dansha. Who is worshipped by all men, day and night ? Mā (Luxmī). What did the Mohammudan King (Alauddin) say to his friends, seeing Padmavati in confinement ? Yara Na Deedam Shama (Friends, I never saw before such a lamp of beauty (as Padmavati) is).

2. (a) Excerpts from *Allopaniṣad* :

Asmallām Ille Mitravaruṇa Divyani Dhatte. Illalle Varuṇo Raja Punardaduh. Haya Mitro Illām Illalle Illām Varuṇo Mitrastejaskamah.

(b) Allo Rasula Mahamadarakabarasya Allo Allam, and so on.

(e) A Sanskrit verse mixed with Persian :

Khe cha fiqr na kartavyam
Kartavyam ziqre Khuda,
Khuda Tala Prasaden
Sarvam karyam fatah shuvad.

3 & 5. *Rasikapriyā* — III. 2 and III. 34
4 & 6. *Rasacandrikā* — III. 26 and III. 38-39.
7, 11, 16. *Rasakalpadruma* by Jagannātha Miśra, Orissa Sahitya.
18 & 25 Academy, p. 496 verse 36, p. 28 v. 136, p. 122 v. 386, p. 500 v. 66 and p. 16 v. 69 respectively.
8 & 21 *Vairāgya Śataka.*
9,17,23,24 *Bhāratīya Sāhity Parichaya* — Gopi Nath Aman.
10. Bihari, *Ratnakar.*
12. *Sāhitya-vaibhava* — Pt. Mathura Nath Bhatta, "Manjunath
13, 14, 15 *Sher-O-Shayari,* A. P. Goyaliya.
19, 22 *Dag-e-Jigar.*
20. *Amaruka - Śataka..*

PHONOLOGICAL CORRESPONDENCES BETWEEN SANSKRIT & SINDHI

(A Note on Relative Chronology of Borrowings from OIA.)

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The present study is restricted to determine the status of phonological correspondences between OIA and Sindhi, whether belonging to the 'tadbhava' or the 'tatsama' stock, and also attempts to reconstruct different stages of borrowings from Sanskrit, if only the source and the present stage of the language are given.

The vocabularies of modern Indo-Aryan languages, on the basis of their origin, are divided into four classes :[1] 1. *tadbhava*, 2. *tatsama*, 3. *deśī* and 4. *videśī*. A considerable body of common culture in India is reflected in the large corpus of common vocabulary in all Indian languages.

1. *Tadbhava* means 'born of that' i.e. words which have come down to the modern Indo-Aryan languages by direct descent from the ancient Primary Prākṛts for their origin. This forms the largest class of words of any Indo-Aryan language.

2. *Tatsama* means 'the same as that' i.e. words borrowed from Sanskrit from time to time. Middle Indo-Aryan Prākṛts borrowed freely from Sanskrit as the more highly educated Prākṛt-speaking population interlarded their conversation with Sanskrit words. *Tatsama* words which once borrowed had become distorted in the mouth of the Prākṛt-speaking population are called 'ardha-tatsama' or 'semi-tatsama' words. Classical Sanskrit has been exercising a potent influence on the vocabulary of Sindhi. With the spread of Bhakti Movement in literature and the revival of Hinduism in Sind and later with the migration of Sindhi Hindu

1. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India*, 1 : 1, pp. 127-28.

population to India after the Partition in 1947, the language has been borrowing the *tatsama* - vocabulary mainly through Hindi.

3. *Deśi* means 'local' i.e. all those words whose origin is obscure or unknown. A great many of them presumably must be belonging to local languages which existed in respective regions before Aryan languages got predominance there.

4. *Videśi* means 'foreign' i.e. words borrowed from languages other than Sanskrit.

This paper deals with determining the first two classes of the Sindhi vocabulary. The status of the phonological correspondence, whether it is a result of gradual change from one stage to another i.e. tadbhava or is a replacement due to dialect mixture at early stage or is a borrowed item from Sanskrit at later stage i.e. *tatsama*, can be set up on the basis of phonological forms.

Here the presence of cognate language or dialects has been taken for granted, leading to dialect mixture, as the existence of morphophonemically related allomorphs in the language are accepted in dealing with analogical phonemic change.

When forms are borrowed, they are adapted to their new surroundings. The degree of adaptation, or (from the viewpoint of the source language) distortion, probably differs with circumstances of the transfer. In many cases the difference between the most and the least distorted is not much of time as of the degree of bilingualism.[2] In cultures where literary borrowings from the preserved classical origin like Sanskrit is common, the multiple phonological patterns of certain items give us a clue in demarcating these borrowings in various stages.

If the borrowings, instead of dislodging the phonemically corresponding indigenous forms, rather exist side by side, that is, in contrast with them, they produce *doublets* :

Sanskrit	*Sindhi*	
vatsa	vəchīṛo 'calf'	bəco 'child'
phala	phəru 'young one of an animal'	phəlu 'fruit'
dhana	dhəṇu 'flock (of cattle)'	dhənu 'wealth'
kṣamā	khəmu 'patience'	khīmyā 'apology'
kumārī	kvārī 'bride', kvāri 'unmarried girl'	kumari 'Miss, maiden'

2. Hornigswald, *Language change and Linguistic* Reconstruction, 1960, p. 25.

Sanskrit	*Sindhi*	
pañca	pəñjə 'five'	peñca 'wise men of village council'
vyākhyāna	vakhaṇə 'praise'	vyakhyanu 'lecture'
rājya	raju 'rule'	rajyu 'state, province'
garbha	gəbhu 'pulp, pith'	gərbhu 'conceivement'
goṣṭha	goṭhu 'village'	gośṭi 'cultural gathering'
sthāna	thaṇo 'police station'	asthanu 'place (particularly religious)'
jñāna	jaṇə 'information'	gyanu 'knowledge spiritual'
parīkṣā	pərkhə 'test'	pərikhya 'examination'
yantra	jəṇḍu 'grinding stone'	yəntīru 'machine'
madhyam	məñjhī 'inside, within'	mədhyəmu 'medium'

Due to current drift towards classicalisation, some items are reborrowed from the source, and these usually occur in the language in unassimilated (*tatsama*) or partially assimilated (semi-*tatsama*) form.

SANSKRIT AND TULASĪDĀSA

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As Kālidāsa is the cultural embodiment of the best in India in the first millenium of Christian era, we have Tulasīdāsa in the second millenium. He is the typical representative of the Indian culture and thought, both in extent and influence, in linguistic excellence and mass-appeal. His intrinsic poetic talents and zeal for religious-cum-social reforms entitle him to be an extra-ordinary personality of his age.

His intimate association with Sanskrit language and its ways of expression needs no proof. Hindi is the best inheritor of Sanskrit as it is essentially based on Śaurasenī Prākṛt; and Śaurasenī Prākṛt is the Prākṛt closest to sanskrit phonetically. In fact to read and appreciate Tulasīdāsa, the linguistic and cultural background of Sanskrit language and literature with its tradition and environment is indispensable. Tulasīdāsa himself says in his immortal work *Rāmcarita-mānasa* that what he writes is substantially based on Vedas, Purāṇas, Āgamas and on Vālmīki *Rāmāyaṇa* — the fountain head of Sanskrit poetry.

His enormous influence on the masses of the Hindi speaking regions of India is indescribable. Even illiterate persons are directly influenced by him. Hundreds of verses from *Rāma-carita-mānasa* are profusely quoted by them in everyday life. Like the sacred name of Ram, the most popular incarnation of gods among the Hindus, the *Rāmacarita-mānasa* is daily recited individually and collectively with religious devotion and emotional fervour. In fact, the hold of Tulasīdāsa on the Hindu masses in Northern India cannot be imagined. It is difficult to say whether he was a saint—poet or poet-saint of India. He embodies in himself the best traditions of both — the poetic and saintly qualities.

His works, about fifteen in number, are written in a language which abounds in Sanskrit words, mostly it *Tatsama* form. A very large number of even such words as are not directly taken from Sanskrit are easily recognised as *Tad-bhava* words. It is refreshing to find that Tulasīdāsa is not averse to use colloquial (*Deśaja*) words of non-Sanskrit origin. The popular words of even Arabic and Persian origin are not taboo to him. But, on the whole the spirit and atmosphere of Sanskrit is all-pervading and running through· out mostly above and scarcely beneath the surface. The poetic figures (as similes, metaphors etc.) are almost the same as in Sanskrit works. The word '*almost*' in the above sentence is deliberately used to indicate that in some typical cases, similes used by Tulasīdāsa are refreshingly his own. Seeing his continuous chain like similes and metaphors and strings of other figures one is reminded of Bāṇa's *Kādambarī* and other great works of Sanskrit literature. The ornate phraseology employed in earlier Sanskrit works is also met in Tulasīdāsa. He shows intimate knowledge of the sciences of Music, Astrology and Mathematics. The descriptions of external nature (rivers, mountains, flora and fauna) as well as different aspects of human nature echo descriptions in earlier Sanskrit poetry. Subhāṣitas (good sayings), which are the cream of Sanskrit literature are frequently met with in Tulasīdāsa. He shows the excellence of the balanced view of life (Pravṛtti and Nivṛtti — Bhoga and Tyāga) and does not lose touch with the main current of Indian thought and catholic principles of Bhāratīyatā (Indian-ness). In short, Tulasīdāsa in an epoch making personality.

In his age, the spirit of India was cracking under the impact of the foreign cultural domination. Great social and religious up-heavals were taking place. Consequently, the Indianism was in danger. At such a time, Tulasīdāsa appears on the Indian scene. He reminded his contemporaries of the glories of ancient Indian culture. Like Vālmīki, he portaryed Rāma as an ideal man (Maryādāpuruṣottama). But he goes also further. He never forgets that Rāma is really a Supreme Being, above everything, including gods like Indra, Brahmā, Śiva etc. He makes the universe dance according to His will. Tulasīdāsa puts before us a picture of the life, which is happy and worth living by emphasizing the equality, importance of one's duties and obligations. He lived in his age, wherein the devotion to Rāma, adherence to the path of virtue and morality should be regarded as admirable qualities. His conception of Rāmarājya has become a synonym of good adminis-tration.

SANSKRIT AND PUNJABI

PROF. SADHU RAM *(Kurukshetra)* and
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महान् अद्य हर्षावसरोऽयं यद् अत्र दिल्ली-नाम्न्यां भारतराजधान्यां विश्व-संस्कृत-सम्मेलनं वरीवर्ति । देश-विदेशेभ्यः समागतानां गीर्वाणवाणी-कोविदानां पदार्पणेन नगरीयं सौभाग्य-शालिनी संजाता । विदितम् एवैतद् विदुषां यद् देव-वाणी भारतीय-प्रदेश-भाषाणां मूल-स्रोतो भवति ।

पञ्जाबी-भाषाऽपि संस्कृताद् एव समुद्भूता सती तेन सहाद्यापि महत् सादृश्यं वहति । इदं तथ्यं प्रदर्शयितुम् एवास्या निबन्धस्य मुख्योद्देशः । अस्यां काँश्चिद् विशिष्ट-विषयान् अधिकृत्य व्यवहारोपयोगिवाक्यानि मणि-मणिक्यवत् संग्रथितानि सन्ति, तानि दृष्ट्वा मा भूत् कस्यचिन् मनसि संदेहो यद् एषु न्यस्तानि पदानि कपोल-कल्पितानि इति । अस्माभिर् अत्रैकम् अपि पदं न स्व-कल्पनयोद्भावितम् । सर्वेषां पदानां प्रामाण्यं वेदाष्टाध्यायी-उणादिकोश-चरक-सुश्रुत-कैयदेवनिघण्टु-भावप्रकाश-कथासरित्सागर-पञ्चतन्त्रामरकोश—पद्मचन्द्रकोश—मोनियर-विलियम्-रचित-संस्कृताङ्गलाङ्गल-संस्कृत-कोशादि-ग्रन्थेषूपलभ्यते ।

अपि च, अस्माभिः पञ्जाबी-संस्कृत-कोशोऽपि संकलितः । सोऽपि यथावसरं प्रकाशयिष्यते ।

बातचीत	**वार्तालापः**
पञ्जाबी	संस्कृतम्
१. तूं किसदा पुत्तर ए ?	१. त्वं कस्य पुत्रोऽसि ?
२. मैं बपारी रामचन्द्र दा पुत्तर हाँ ।	२. अहं व्यापारि-रामचन्द्रस्य पुत्रोऽस्मि ।
३. तेरे किन्ने भैन भ्रा हन ?	३ तव कति भगिनी-भ्रातरः सन्ति ?
४. मेरियां दो भैनाँ ते तिन्न भ्रा ने ।	४. मम द्वे भगिन्यौ त्रयो भ्रातरो नु ।
५. सब तों जेट्ठा कौन है ?	५. को नु सर्वेषां ज्येष्ठः ?
६. मैं सब तों जेट्ठा हाँ ।	६. सर्वेषां ज्येष्ठोऽहम् ।

७. तूँ की कम्म करदा एं ?

८. मैं पियो नाल बपार करदा हाँ ।

९. तेरी हट्टी ते किन्ने कु गाहक ग्रा जाँदे ने ?

१०. गाहक ताँ बहुत ग्रौंदे ने, पर विक्री थोड़ी हुन्दी ए ।

११. की कारन ए ?

१२. एन्हीं दिनीं बपार मन्दा ए ।

१३. तूँ इन्ना मैला क्यों एं, कपड़े नहीं धोंदा की ?

१४. ग्रज्ज नहीं धोत्ते ।

१५. जा रीठयाँ नाल धवा लै ।

१६. नहीं, मैं ताँ उगराही लई चल्लया हाँ ।

१७. कित्थे जाएँगा ?

१८. हुन तां ग्रंबरसर जान्ना हाँ ।

१९. कद ग्राएँगा ?

२०. उगराही लैके कल ग्राजावाँगा ।

७. त्वं किं कर्म्म करोषि ?

८. ग्रहं पित्रा सह व्यापारं करोमि ।

९. तव हट्ट्यां कियन्तो ग्राहकाः ग्रायान्ति नु ?

१०. ग्राहकास् तु बहवः ग्रायान्ति, परं विक्रयः स्तोको भवति ।

११. किं कारणम् ?

१२. एषु दिनेषु व्यापारो मन्दोऽस्ति ।

१३. त्वम् इयान् मलिनः कथम् ग्रसि, कर्पटानि न धावयसि किम् ?

१४. ग्रद्य न धौतानि ।

१५. याहि, ग्ररिष्टैर् धावय ।

१६. नहि, ग्रहं तूद्ग्रहणाय चलितोऽस्मि ।

१७. कुत्र यास्यसि ?

१८. ग्रधुना तु ग्रमृतसरं यामि ।

१९. कदाऽऽयास्यसि ?

२०. उद्ग्रहणं लात्वा कल्यम् ग्राया-स्यामि ॥

खेती बाड़ी

१. सवेरे उठके किसान हल लैके खेत नूँ जांदा ए ।

२. ग्रोहदे नाल दो बल्द वी हन, इक काला, ते दूजा धौला ।

३. ग्रोह खेत च जाके बल्दाँ दे गल विच जोत्तरा पाके ग्रोन्हाँ नूं हल नाल जो देंदा ए ।

४. फेर उन्हाँ दोहाँ नाल हल वोंहदा ए ।

५. इक पास्से रैंहट चलदा ए, ते ग्रोहदी चीं चीं दी धुन कन्नाँ च पैंदी ए ।

६. खू दा पानी नाल विच्चों वैहँदा होया कूल्लाँ थाई क्यारियाँ नूं सिजदा ए ।

क्षेत्रं वाटिका च

१. सुवेलायाम् उत्थाय कृषाणो हलं लात्वा क्षेत्रं याति ।

२. तेन सह द्वौ बलीवर्दौ ग्रपि स्तः, एकः कालः, द्वितीयो धवलः ।

३. स क्षेत्रं यात्वा बलीवर्दयोर् गले योक्त्रं दत्त्वा, तौ हलेन योजयति ।

४. पुनर् द्वाभ्याम् हलं वाहयति ।

५. एकस्मिन् पार्श्वेऽरघट्टश् चलति तस्य चीं-चीं ध्वनिः कर्णयोः पतति ।

६. कूप-पानीयं नालाद् वहत् कुल्याभिः केदारान् सिञ्चति ।

७. गर्मी नाल तपया हाली पसीना-पसीना होया, रुक्ख दी छाँ हेठाँ सौं जाँदा ए।

८, दुपहरे ओहदी वहुटी बाजरे दी रोटी, मक्खन ते छाह् लैके औंदी ए।

९. ओह सुत्ता उठके मुँह हत्थ धोके मक्खन नाल रोटी खाँदा ए।

१०. खा पीके कम्म च लग जाँदा ए, ते वी बोंदा ए।

११. पक्क गए खेत नूं किसान दाती नाल कट्टदा ए।

१२. कट्टे हुए अनाज नूं सुकाके ओहदिआँ पूलियाँ बन्हदा ए।

१३. पूलिआँ नूं छकड़े च रखके निवेकले थाँ ते लजाके भोएँ ते विछाके ओन्हाँ नूं गौंहदा ए।

१४. गाहे होए अनाज तों भो वक्खरा करके, दोहाँ नूं गड् ड च पाके घर लै जाँदा ए।

१५. अनाज नूँ कोठे च भर लैंदा ए, भो पशुआँ लई रखदा ए।

७. घर्मेण तप्तो हाली प्रस्विन्नः प्रस्विन्नः सन्, वृक्ष-च्छायाम् अधस्तात् स्वपिति।

८. द्विप्रहरे तस्य वधूटी वज्ररोटिकाः, म्रक्षणं, छच्छिकां च लात्वा ऽऽयाति।

९. सुप्तोत्थितः स मुख-हस्तं धावित्वा म्रक्षणेन रोटिकां खादति।

१०. खादित्वा पीत्वा च कर्मणि लगति, बीजानि च वपति।

११. पक्वं क्षेत्रं कीनाशो दात्रेण कर्तयति।

१२. कृत्तम् अन्नाद्यं शोषयित्वा तस्य पूलीर् बध्नाति।

१३. पूलीः शकटे रक्षित्वा निर्विकलं स्थानं नीत्वा ता भूमौ विस्तीर्य गाहते।

१४. गाहिताद् अन्नाद्याद् बुसं पृथक् कृत्वा, द्वे एव गर्ते रक्षित्वा गृहं नयति।

१५. अन्नाद्यं कोष्ठे भरते, बुसं च पशुभ्यो रक्षति।

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साग

१. कई नगराँ विच हट्टाँ लग्गदिआँ ने।

२. ओन्हाँ विच इक साग दी हट्टी वी ए।

३. पुत्त! चल्ल अज्ज रिन्हन लई साग लै लइए।

४. पिता जी, एहदे कोल सज्जरे साग हन।

५. चल्ल, दो सेर सरहों दा, इक सेर पालक दा, ते इक सेर बाथू दा, एवें चार सेर साग लै लेने हाँ।

६. साग मिट्टी दी हाँडी विच ई रिन्हना चाहीदा ए।

शाकः

१. केषुचिन्नगरेषु हट्टाः लगन्ति।

२, तेषु एका शाक-हट्टी अपि भवति।

३. पुत्र! चल, अद्य रन्धनाय शाकं लायाम।

४. तात! अस्य कोले सद्यः शाकाः सन्ति।

५. चल, द्वौ सेटौ सर्षपस्य, एकं सेटं पालङ्क्यायाः, एकं च वास्तुकस्य, एवं शाकानां चतुरः सेटान् लामः।

६. शाको मृत्तिका-हण्ड्याम् एव रन्धितव्यः।

७. पिता जी, दूजी हट्टी वी चल्लो, ओत्थे गोभी ते आल्लू विकदे ने ।

८. पुत्त, अज्ज गोभी नहीं खानी, अज्ज ताँ वताऊँआँ दा भड़था ई खावाँगे ।

९. कई दिन बीत गए ने, कचनार नही खादी, ओह दहीं च स्वाद लगदी ए ।

१०. पुत्त, पंज सेर आल्लू लै चल्लिए, ओह सब सलूनयाँ च पाए जांदे ने ।

११. सुहाँजने दे फुल्ल वा दिआँ पीड़ाँ नूं दूर करदे ने ।

१२. अज्ज गाजराँ वी लै लइये, राई नाल ओन्हाँ दी काँजी बनावाँगे ।

१३. सवेर वेल्ले माखयों विच निम्बू ते पानी पाके पीना मनुक्ख नूँ निरोया करदा ऐ ।

१४. मूत्तर विच शक्कर वाले रोगी लई करेल्ला लाभकारी ए ।

१५. गर्मियाँ दी रुत्त विच कूले-कूले टिण्डे खाने चाहीदे ने ।

७. तात ! द्वितीयां हट्टीं चलाव तत्र गोभी आलूनि च विक्रीयन्ते ।

८. पुत्र, अद्य गोभीं न खादिष्यामः, अद्य तु वृन्ताक-भरितम् एव खादिष्यामः ।

९. कतिचिद् दिनानि व्यतीतानि काञ्चनारो न खादितः, स दध्ना च स्वादु लगति ।

१०. पुत्र ! पञ्च सेटान् आलूनां लायाम, तानि च सर्वेषु सलवणेषु पात्यन्ते ।

११. शोभाञ्जन-फुल्लानि वातपीडाः दूरीकुर्वन्ति ।

१२. अद्य गर्जरान्यपि लायाम, राजिकया सह तेषाँ काञ्जिकां निर्मास्यामः ।

१३. सुवेलायां पानीये माक्षिकं निम्बुं च निक्षिप्य पानं मनुष्यं नीरोगं करोति ।

१४. मूत्रे शर्करामेह-रोगिणे कारवेल्लं लाभकारि भवति ।

१५. घर्मर्तौ कोमलानि तिन्दिशानि खादितव्यानि ।

फल

१. कश्मीर विच बदाम ते अखरोट दे रुक्ख हुन्दे ने ।

२. नागपुर दिआँ नरंगियाँ परसिद्ध हन ।

३. बेराँ दे रुक्खाँ नाल कंडे वी लग्गे हुंदे ने ।

४. अम्ब नूं बालक बड़े प्रेम नाल चूसदे ने ।

फलम्

१. काश्मीरे वातामानाम् अक्षोटानां च वृक्षा भवन्ति ।

२. नागपुरस्य नारङ्ग्यः प्रसिद्धा ।

३. बदर-वृक्षेषु कण्टका अपि लग्ना भवन्ति ।

४. आम्रं बालका अतिप्रेम्णा चूषन्ति ।

५. महुए दे बीआं नूं निपोड़ के तेल कड्ढदे ने ।	५. मधूक-बीजानि निपीड्य तैलं निष्का-सयन्ति ।
६. पक्के होए तूतां ते मक्खियाँ बैठ-दियाँ हन ।	६. पक्व-तूतेषु मक्षिकाः सीदन्ति ।
७. केल्ला खाके छिल्का बाहर न सिट्ट ।	७. कदलीं खादित्वा शल्कं बहिर् मा क्षिप ।
८. जम्मूँ रा बड़े रसीले हुन्दे ने ।	८. राज-जम्बूनि रसिनः भवन्ति ।
९. केरल देस विच नरेल दी जत्त दिआँ रस्सिआँ वट्टदे ने ।	९. केरल देशे नारिकेल-जटाभी रश्मीर् वर्तयन्ति ।
१०. नारियल दे तेल नाल वाल लम्मे हो जाँदे ने ।	१०. नारिकेल-तैलेन वालाः लम्बाः भवन्ति ।
११. मुनक्का खान नाल लहू वधदा ए ।	११. मृद्वीका-खादनेन लोहितं वर्धते ।
१२. खजूर दा रुक्ख उच्चा हुन्दा ए ।	१२. खर्जूर-वृक्षः उच्चो भवति ।
१३. कूली ककड़ी भोजन नाल खादी जाँदी ए ।	१३. कोमल-कर्कटी भोजनेन खाद्यते ।
१४. गोंदी, पीलू ते खिरनी दे फल छोटे हुन्दे ने, पर स्वाद लगदे ने ।	१४. इङ्गुदी--पीलु--क्षीरिणी--फलानि लघूनि भवन्ति, परं स्वादु लगन्ति ।
१५. वेल्लाँ नाल दाख दे गुच्छे लमकदे ने ।	१५. वल्लीषु द्राक्षा-गुच्छाः लम्बन्ते ।
१६. पीलू इक इक करके नहीं खाईदे, ओहनाँ नाल जीभ फल जाँदी ए । ओह मुट्ठी भरके खाने चाहीदे ने ।	१६. पीलूनि एकैकं न खाद्यन्ते, तैर् जिह्वा फलति । तानि तु मुष्टि-भरेण खादितव्यानि ।

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व्याह-काज	विवाह-कार्यम्
१. दूल्हा घोड़ी ते चढ़िआ व्याह करान लई सौहरे घर ढुक्कन लई जाँदा ऐ ।	१. दुर्लभो घोटिकारूढः विवाहं कारयितुं श्वशुर-गृहे ढौकनाय याति ।
२. ओहदे सिर ते मुकुट बद्धा होया ए, गल विच हार लमकदे ने, ते उप्पर छत्तर तानया होया ए ।	२. तस्य शिरसि मुकुटं बद्धम् अस्ति, गले हाराः लम्बन्ते, उपरि च छत्रं ततम् अस्ति ।
३. अग्गे-अग्गे वाज्जे वज्जदे ने, ते पिच्छे-पिच्छे बराती जाँदे ने ।	३. अग्रेऽग्रे वाद्यानि वाद्यन्ते, पश्चाच् च वरयात्रिणो यान्ति ।
४. सौहरे घर पहलां कन्या दी माँ, जो दूल्हे दी सस्स है, दरवाजे ते तेल चोंदी ए ।	४. श्वशुर-गृहे प्रथमं कन्याया माता, या दुर्लभस्य श्वश्रूः अस्ति, द्वारे तैलं च्यावयति ।

५. सालियाँ वर नू अन्दर लजाके कहिन्दिआँ ने 'छन्न सुना'।

६. ओह छन्न सुनौंदा ए, ते सालियाँ हस्सदिआं ने।

७. कन्या पक्ख दे लोक जंज नू जनवासे विच ठरौंदे ने।

८. पिच्छौं बरातियां नू सद्द के आदर नाल ओन्हाँ दे अग्गे मठिआइयाँ परोसदे ने।

९. बराती ओन्हाँ नू स्वाद नाल खाँदे ने, ते आपो विच हास्सा करदे ने।

१०. इक पास्से वेदी सजी होई ए।

११. वर ते कन्या नू वेदी च लजा के आसनाँ ते बठा देंदे ने।

१२. कन्या दे हत्थाँ तों कलीरे लमकदे ने, उंगली विच मुन्दरी, हथाँ विच कंगन, गल विच कैण्ठी, कन्नाँ विच कुण्डल, ते नक्क विच नत्थ सोंहदी ए।

१३. पुरोहत वेद मन्तरां नाल व्याह करौंदा ए, ते वर ते कन्या हवन-कुण्ड दी अग्ग दिआँ चार परकरमाँ करदे ने।

१४. कन्या दे भ्रा, भैन दे हत्थाँ च फुल्लियाँ पाँदे ने, ते भैन ओन्हां नूँ हवन कुण्ड च पा देंदी ए।

१५. व्याह दे पिच्छों कन्या दा पिता वहूटी ते वर नूँ बठाके खट्ट मनस देंदा ए।

१६. वहुटी दे माप्पे, भ्रा, भैनां, मामे, चाचे ते होर सम्बन्धी ओहनूँ डोली च बठा के हंजू वहाँदे ने।

१७. वहुटी वी माप्पिआँ दे वियोग च रोंदी ए।

५. स्याल्यः वरम् अन्तरं नीत्वा कथयन्ति 'छन्दांसि श्रावय।'

६. स छन्दांसि श्रावयति, स्याल्यश् च हसन्ति।

७. कन्या-पक्ष-जना जन्यां जन्यावासे स्थापयन्ति।

८. पश्चाद् वरयात्रिणः शब्दापयित्वा तेषाम् अग्रे सादरं मिष्टान्नानि परिवेषयन्ति।

९ वर-यात्रिणस् तान्यास्वादेन खादन्ति, परस्परं चापहसन्ति।

१०. एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे वेदिः सज्जिताऽस्ति।

११. वरं कन्यां च वेद्यां नीत्वाऽऽसनयोः सादयन्ति।

१२. कन्यायाः हस्तयोः क्रीडनकाः लम्बन्तेऽङ्गुल्यां मुद्रा, हस्तयोः कङ्कणे, गले कण्ठी, कर्णयोः कुण्डले, नस्यां च नस्तं शोभते।

१३. पुरोहितो वेद-मन्त्रैर् विवाहं कारयति, वर-कन्ये च हवनकुण्डाग्नेः परितश् चतुः परिक्राम्यतः।

१४. कन्या-भ्रातरो भगिन्याः हस्तयोः पूल्यान्य्[1] आवपन्ति, भगिनी च तानि हवन-कुण्डे पातयति।

१५. विवाहात् पश्चात् कन्यायाः पिता वधूवरं खट्वायां सादयित्वा मनसा ददाति।

१६. वधूट्या मातापितरौ, भ्रातरो, भगिन्यो, मातुलास्, ताताः, अपरे च सम्बन्धिनस् तां दोल्यां स्थापयित्वाऽश्रूणि पातयन्ति।

१७. वधूट्यपि मातापित्रोर् वियोगेन रोदिति।

१. इयं नार्य् उपाब्रूते पूल्यान्यावपन्तिका दीर्घायुर् अस्तु मे पतिर् जीवाति शरदः शतम्॥ अथर्ववेद, १४-२-६३

रसोई-घर

१. रसोईघर विच भाँडे, अनाज, दालाँ ते होर वस्तां दिस्सदिआँ हन ।

२. इक पास्से घड़ा रखया होया ए ।

३. नेड़े ई पित्तल दी गागर ते कौल पिआ ए ।

४. बाहर वेहड़े विच धान कुट्टन लई उक्खल ते मोहली रखी होई ए ।

५. इक्क कोने विच पीहन लई चक्की पई ए ।

६. कन्ध दे लागे मिट्टी दे भाँडिआँ विच माँह, मूँगी, मसर ते चणे रखे होए ने ।

७. इक जनी पीढ़ी ते बैठी मटकी विच नेत्रे नाल मधानी चलाके दही बिलो रही ए ।

८. ओह हत्थ नाल मक्खन कड्ढ के छाह पीन लई रखदी ए ।

९. ओह गेहों नूँ धोके बाहर मंजे ते सुकान लई विछा देंदी ए ।

१०. बुड्ढी माई साग रिन्हदी ए ।

११. ओहदी नूँह रोटियां ते सलूना पकौंदी ए ।

१२. सलूने च लूण, मिरचाँ, हलदी, हिंग जीरा, लसन, ते अदरक पाए होए ने ।

१३. रिद्धा होया सरहों दा साग मक्खन नाल स्वाद लगदा ए ।

१४. लोकी तेल विच पकौड़े तलके खाँदे ने ।

१५. वरखा रुत विच गुड़ ते खण्ड दे पूड़े तलदे ने ।

१६. मठे विच मूंगी दिआँ पकौड़ियाँ वहुत स्वाद लगदियाँ ने ।

१७. भोजन भुंजे आसन ते बैठके खाना चाहीदा ए, मंजे ते नहीं ।

रसवती-गृहम्

१. रसवती-गृहे भाण्डानि, अन्नाद्यं, दाल्योऽन्यानि वस्तूनि च दृश्यन्ते ।

२. एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे घटो रक्षितोऽस्ति ।

३. सनीडे हि पित्तल-गर्गरी कमलं च स्तः ।

४. बहिर् विहारे धान्य-कुट्टनाय उलूखल-मुसलं च रक्षितम् ।

५. एकस्मिन् कोणे पेषणाय चक्री वर्तते ।

६. स्कन्ध-लग्नेषु मृद्-भाण्डेषु माष-मुद्ग-मसूर-चणकाः रक्षिताः सन्ति ।

७. एका जनी[1] पीठिकायां निषण्णा नेत्रेण मन्थानं चालयित्वा दधि विलोऽयति[1] ।

८. सा हस्तेन म्रक्षणं कृष्ट्वा छच्छिकां पानाय रक्षति ।

९. सा गोधूमान् धावित्वा, तान् बहिर् मञ्चे शोषणाय विस्तारयति ।

१०. वृद्धा माता शाकं रन्ध्यति ।

११. तस्याः स्नुषा रोटिकाः सलवणं च पचति ।

१२. सलवणे लवणं, मरिचानि, हरिद्रा हिंगु, जीरकं, लशुनम्, आर्द्रकं च पातितानि सन्ति ।

१३. रन्धितः सर्षप-शाको म्रक्षणेन स्वादु लगति ।

१४. लोका तैले पक्ववटाँस् तलित्वा खादन्ति ।

१५. वर्षा-ऋतौ गुडस्य खण्डस्य चापूपाँस् तलन्ति ।

१६. मथिते मुद्ग-पक्ववट्यो बहु स्वादु लगन्ति ।

१७. भोजनं भूमाव् आसने निषद्य कर्तव्यं, न तु मञ्चे ।

१. प्रति ष्या सूनरी जनी व्युच्छन्ती परि स्वसुः । दिवो अदर्शि दुहिता ॥ ऋग्वेद, १.५२.१

१८. झिऊरी भाँडे माँजदी ए, ते नल दे हेठाँ ओन्हाँ नूँ धोंदी ए।

१९. बाह्मनी हन्दा लैन ओंदी ए।

२०. सच्चे बाह्मनाँ नूँ दित्ते दान दा बहुत पुन्न हुन्दा ए।

१८. धीवरी भाण्डानि मार्जयति, नलम् अधश् च तानि धावति।

१९. ब्राह्मणी हन्तकारं लानायायाति।

२०. सद्ब्राह्मणेभ्यो दत्तेन दानेन बहु पुण्यं भवति।

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बन

१. ताया जी, मैंनू अज्ज बन विच घुम्मन लई लै चलो।

२. प्यारे, चल अज्ज तैनूँ बन ई दिखा लिआवाँ, पर है बड़ा दूर।

३. पन्ध बड़ा कठिन ऐ।

४. कोई डर नहीं, जावाँगा।

५. आहा, एत्थे किन्ने ई रुक्ख ने।

६. देख. ऐत्थे निम्म, सरींह ते खैर दे रुक्ख हन।

७. साम्हने हरड़, बहड़े ते औले दे रुक्ख खड़े ने।

८. सज्जे पास्से देख, रत्ते फुल्लाँ वाला अशोक केहा सोहना लगदा ए।

९. एहदा छिल्का जनानियाँ दे रोगाँ लई चंगा हुन्दा ए।

१०. ओहदे नेड़े ई बोढ़ ते पिप्पल दे रुक्ख हन।

११. एन्हाँ दी छां बहुं घनी हुन्दी ए, जिसदे हेठां गर्मी दी रुत्त विच लोक विसराम करदे ने।

१२. अग्गे चल्ल के मैं तैनूँ एस बन विच ढेऊ, कैथ ते बिल्ल दे रुक्ख वी दखावाँगा।

१३. पक्के ढेऊ लोकी खान्दे ने।

१४. दयार दी काठ दा चूरा, काहू दा छिल्का, ते करंज दे फल औषधां च वर्ते जाँदे ने।

वनम्

१. तात! माम् अद्य भ्रमणाय वनं नय।

२. प्रिय, चल अद्य त्वां वनम् एव दर्शयामि, परं बहु दूरम् अस्ति।

३. पन्थास् तु बहुकठिनोऽस्ति।

४ न कोऽपि दरः, यास्यामि।

५. अहो, अत्र केऽपि वृक्षाः नु।

६. पश्य, अत्र निम्ब-शिरीष-खदिर-वृक्षाः सन्ति।

७. सम्मुखे हरीतकी-विभीतका-मलक-वृक्षास् तिष्ठन्ति।

८. सव्ये पार्श्वे पश्य, रक्त-फुल्लोऽशोकः कथं शोभनो लगति!

९. अस्य शल्को जनीनाँ रोगेषु चङ्गो ऽस्ति।

१०. तस्य सनीडे एव वट-पिप्पल-वृक्षौ स्तः।

११. अनयोश् छाया घना भवति, यस्या अधस्ताद् घर्मतो लोका विश्रा-म्यन्ति।

१२. अग्रे चलित्वाहं त्वां ढहुकपित्थ-बिल्व-वृक्षान् अपि दर्शयिष्यामि।

१३. पक्वानि ढहूनि लोकाः खादन्ति।

१४. देवदारु-काष्ठ-चूर्णं, ककुभशल्कं, करञ्ज-फलानि चौषधेषु वर्त्यन्ते।

चिड़ियाघर

१. लोकाँ दा ग्यान वधान लई चिड़िया-घर बनाए जाँदे ने ।

२. चिड़ियाघर विच देस-विदेसाँ चों ल्याके कई प्रकार दे पशु-पंछी रखे जाँदे ने ।

३. इक पिंजरे विच हरियाँ, पीलियां, रत्तियां, नीलियाँ कई रंगाँ दिश्राँ चिड़ियाँ हन ।

४. श्रोह श्राल्हने बनौंदिश्रां ने, जित्थे श्रांडे देंदिश्राँ ने ।

५. पिंजरे विच श्रोन्हां दे खान लई कंगनी ते पीन लई मिट्टी दे भांडे विच पानी रखिश्रा होया ए ।

६. होरनाँ पिंजरिश्राँ विच कबूतर, कोयलाँ, चकोर, तित्तर, बटेर, कुक्कड़ ते मोर रखे होए ने ।

७. इक पिंजरे च बाँदर ते लंगूर बंद ने । बालक उन्हाँ नूं भुज्जे होए चणे पाँदे ने ।

८. इक तला विच श्रनेक रंगाँ दियाँ मच्छियाँ ते कच्छूकुम्मे तरदे ने ।

९. इक पास्से जल विच हंस तरदे ने, ते बगला इक जाँध ते खड़ा लम्मी चुँझ नाल मच्छियां खाँदा ए ।

१०. नेड़े ई इक पिंजरे विच सफेद मोर है । जद कदे वी काली घटा छा जांदी ए, तद श्रोह खम्ब फैला के नच्चदा ए ।

११. इक बाड़े विच रखे होए हरन घा चरदे ते कुद्दे हन ।

१२. सीहाँ दा जोड़ा, चीते, बघिश्राड़ ते रिच्छ वक्खरे मोटियाँ सलाखाँ वाले पिंजरिश्रां च रखे जाँदे ने ।

१३. इक जाली वाले पिंजरे विच सप्प हन । इक फनियर सप्प कुण्डली मारके बैठा है ।

चटक-गृहम्

१. लोकानां ज्ञान-वर्धनाय चटकगृहाणि निर्माप्यन्ते ।

२. चटक-गृहे देश-विदेशेभ्यो लात्वा नानाविधाः पशुपक्षिणो रक्ष्यन्ते ।

३. एकस्मिन् पञ्जरे हरित-पीत-रक्त-नीलाद्यनेक-रङ्गाणां चटकाः सन्ति ।

४. ताः श्रालयान् निर्मान्ति. यत्र श्रण्डानि ददति ।

५. पञ्जरे तासां खादनाय कङ्गुः पानाय च मृद्-भाण्डे पानीयं रक्षितम् ।

६. श्रन्य-पञ्जरेषु कपोताः कोकिलाश् चकोरास् तित्तिराः वर्तकाः कुक्कुटाः मयूराश् च रक्षिता सन्ति ।

७. एकस्मिन् पञ्जरे वानराः लाङ्गूलिनश् च रुद्धाः सन्ति । बालकास् तेभ्यो भृष्टाँश् चणान् पातयन्ति ।

८. एकस्मिन् तडागेऽनेक-रङ्गाणां मत्स्याः कच्छप-कूर्माश् च तरन्ति ।

९. एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे जले हंसास् तरन्ति, बकश् च एक-जङ्घे तिष्ठन् लम्ब-चञ्च्वा मत्स्यान् खादति ।

१०. सनीडे एव एकस्मिन् पञ्जरे श्वेत-मयूरोऽस्ति । यदा कदाऽपि काली घटाऽऽच्छादयति, स पक्षान् प्रसार्य नृत्यति ।

११. एकस्मिन् वाटे रक्षिताः हरिणाः घासं चरन्ति कूर्दन्ति च ।

१२. सिंह-युगलं, चित्रकाः, व्याघ्राः, ऋक्षाश् च पृथक् पृथक् स्थूल-शलाका-पञ्जरेषु रक्ष्यन्ते ।

१३. एकस्मिन् जाल-पञ्जरे सर्पाः सन्ति । एकः फणी कुण्डली-भूय तिष्ठति ।

१४. एस चिड़ियाघर विच ऊँठ नहीं हन, हन, पर सफेद कन्नाँ वाले काले घोड़े अत्त सोहने परतीत हुंदे ने ।

१५. इक पास्से हाथी घी बद्धे हन, जिन्हां विच इक हाथी सफेद है ।

१४. अस्मिन् चटक-गृहे उष्ट्राः न सन्ति, परं श्वेत-कर्णाः कालाः घोटाः अति शोभनाः प्रतीयन्ते ।

१५. एकस्मिन् पार्श्वे हस्तिनो ऽपि बद्धाः सन्ति, येषाम् एको हस्ती श्वेतो ऽस्ति ।

आदि-ग्रन्थ दे वाक

१. गुरु नानक देव (१)

एक ओंकार सतनाम करता पुरख निरभौ निर्वैर अकाल-मूरति अ जूनी सहभं । गुर प्रसाद ।

२. गुरु अर्जुन देव (५)

(क) सलोक

आदि गुरए नमह ।
जुगादि गुरए नमह ।
सत गुरए नमह ।
स्री गुर देवए नमह ।।१।।

(ख) सुखमनी सुख अम्रित प्रभ नाम ।
भगत जनाँ कै मन विस्राम ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन गर्भ न बसै ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन दूख जम नसै ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन काल परहरै ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन दुसमन टरै ।
प्रभ सिमरत कछु विघन न लागै ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन अनदिन जागै ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन भौ न बिआपै ।
प्रभ कै सिमरन दुख न संतापै ।
प्रभ का सिमरन साध के संग ।
सरब निधान नानक हरिरंग ।।२।।

आदि-ग्रन्थ-वाक्यानि

१. गुरु-नानकदेवः (१)

एकः ओंकारः सत्यनाम कर्त्तापुरुषः निर्भयः निर्वैरः अकालमूर्तिः अयोनिः स्वयंभूः । गुरु-प्रसादः ।

२. गुरुः अर्जुनदेवः (५)

(क) श्लोकः

आदि-गुरवे नमः ।
युगादि-गुरवे नमः ।
सत्य-गुरवे नमः ।
श्री-गुरुदेवाय नमः ।।१।।

(ख) सुखमणिः सुखम् अमृतं प्रभुनाम ।
भक्त-जनानां मनसि विश्रामः ।
प्रभु-स्मरणेन गर्भे न वसति ।
प्रभु-स्मरणेन यम-दुःखं नश्यति ।
प्रभु-स्मरणेन कालः परिहरति ।
प्रभु-स्मरणेन दुर्मनो नश्यति ।
प्रभुं स्मरन्तं कश्चिद् विघ्नो न लगति ।
प्रभु-स्मरणायानुदिनं जागर्ति ।
प्रभु-स्मरणेन भयं न व्याप्नोति ।
प्रभु-स्मरणेन दुःखं न सन्तापयति ।
प्रभोः स्मरणं साधु-सङ्गेन,
सर्व-निधानं, नानक आह,
हरि रञ्जितः (भवति) ।।२।।

३. गुरु तेग बहादुर (६)

साधो मन का मान तिआगऊ ॥
काम क्रोध संगति दुरजन की
ता ते अहिनिसि भागऊ ॥१॥
सुख दुख दोनों सम करि जानै
अउरु मान अपमाना ॥
हरख सोग ते रहै अतीता
तिन जग तत्त पछाना ॥१॥

३. गुरु-तेगबहादुरः (६)

साधवो मनो-मानं त्यजत ॥
काम-क्रोध-दुर्जन-संगतिभ्योऽहर्निशं प्रद्रवत ॥
सुख-दुःखे मानापमाने समं कृत्वा यो जानाति स हर्ष-शोकाद् अतीतो भवति । तेन जगत्-तत्त्वं परिचितम् ॥१॥

SANSKRIT AND THE PHILOSOPHY OF LANGUAGE

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It is perfectly natural to associate Sanskrit with the Philosophy of Language because one sees in the literature of that language, from its earliest phase, a continued interest in *Vāk*, the faculty of speech in man and its manifestations. Numerous are the passages in the verse and prose portions of the Vedas where statements have been made about *Vāk*. They throw light on how Vedic man conceived of this human faculty and of its relations with the other faculties of man. Though some of these statements have only a mythological interest, others leave no room for doubt that Vedic man had a deep understanding of the close connection between speech and the intellectual and spiritual aspects of the inner life of man. RV. X. 71 and 125 give a very good idea of the Vedic conception of *Vāk*. In the latter, *Vāk* identifies herself with all objects and processes of the phenomenal world, the germ of the later *Śabdādvaita*. In his essay entitled "Les pouvoirs de la Parole dans de Ṛg-Veda" (Etudes Védiques et pāṇinéennes, fasc. I, p. 1-27). Renou has shown with a wealth of references how words expressive of different aspects of thinking and feeling, including poetic imagination can also mean the products of that mental activity like the finished poem. Taking the expression "Philosophy of Language" in its widest meaning to include all reflections on the different aspects of the Sanskrit language, all ideas used as a basis of classification of the different elements of the language, all thoughts on their origin and development, one can say that the beginnings of the Philosophy of Language can be seen in the *Āraṇyakas* and the *Upaniṣads* where such thoughts and reflections are found scattered in many places.

The most important manifestation of *Vāk* is the *Veda*. When the idea of its great sacredness and of the importance of the preser-

vation intact of its text and of the understanding of its meaning became fully developed, these reflections and thoughts organised themselves into separate disciplines called *Vedāṅgas* = 'sciences auxiliary to the *Vedas*'. The correct observation and description of the mode of articulation of the sounds of the Veda resulted in the coming into existence of the discipline called *Śikṣā* = 'Phonetics', comprising several works, including *Śikṣās* proper and the *Prātiśā-khyas*, works attached to particular Vedic schools and containing, in addition to phonetic material, some grammar and prosody also. These works constitute the earliest articulatory phonetics of any language in the world. The accurate description, with the help of a large number of technical terms of the mode of articulation of the sounds of the Sanskrit language which these works contain, has helped the development of the Science of Phonetics in modern times. Similarly all the reflections and observations relating to the forms of the words of the Sanskrit language ultimately crystallised into the discipline called *Vyākaraṇa* = 'Grammar', which comprised, from the very beginning, two aspects: the purely technical one relating to the formation of the words and the *siddhānta* aspect, relating to the notions underlying these forms, while a *sūtra* work, like the Aṣṭādhyāyī of Pāṇini, confines itself to the former aspect, as it was bound to do, because of the exigencies of brevity, Kātyā-yana and Patañjali, commenting upon the former, bring out interestingly the *siddhānta* aspect. As it was not enough to understand the formation of the words of the Vedas, as it was also necessary to understand their meaning and interpret it correctly, a third discipline called *Nirukta*, associated with the name of Yāska also developed. It purports to explain the earlier *Nighaṇṭu*, a kind of glossary of Vedic words arranged subject-wise. In the course of the explanation, various problems of a general nature are raised such as : how many parts of speech are there in the language of the *Vedas*, what is the difference between a noun and a verb, what is the nature of the gods, to whom the *mantras* are addressed and so on. These problems and the answers given to them in the *Nirukta* of Yāska have dominated later thinking, for instance, the difference between a noun and a verb, pointed out by Yāska, has been incorporated by Bhartṛhari in his *Vākyapadīya*. Lastly, the *Vedāṅga* called *Chandas* deals with the different metres used in Vedic poetry. Thus, as many as four of the six auxiliary sciences connected with the Vedas deal with their language aspect. Of these *Vyākaraṇa* was certainly the most important as it comprised a purely technical side as well as a partly philosophical and linguistic side.

The systems of Philosophy like Buddhism, *Pūrvamimāṃsā*, and *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* also took interest in language. Languages involve the emission of sounds which is a physical phenomenon. But it is

more than that. It conveys knowledge from one person to another. So the systems of Philosophy had to decide whether language or the word constitute a different means of valid knowledge (*pramāṇa*) or not. Now this is an epistemological interest, different from that of the Grammarian whose interest is chiefly linguistic. But even for discussing the word or the language from an epistemological point of view, it was necessary to understand its nature as a means of communication. Both the linguist and the epistemologist have to define what the word is which conveys the meaning and which is used for the purpose of communication. It is, therefore, not an accident that Patañjali in his *Mahābhāṣya* and Śabara in his *Mīmāṃsābhāṣya* have raised the same question, namely, अथ गौरित्यत्र कः शब्दः ? = "what constitutes the word *gauḥ ?*" Of course, they give two different answers, one leading to the *sphoṭa* — doctrine and the other to its rejection. Philosophers and grammarians, while working in different fields arrived at different and yet similar notions expressed often by the same words. Grammar is engaged in the task of isolating and defining the notions which underlie the forms of the Sanskrit language. These notions are expressed by words like *jāti, guṇa, dravya, kriyā, sādhana, dik, kāla, saṅkhyā, puruṣa, liṅga* and so on. The philosophers, on the other hand, are engaged in analysing reality and our experience of it and while doing so, they arrive at certain categories which they call by such names as *jāti, dravya, guṇa, kriyā, dik, kāla* and so on. To isolate and define the notions which underlie the forms of a language is not to philosophise but to practise linguistics. That is what the grammarians do. To analyse reality directly and bring it under different categories is to philosophise. In India, the persons who were engaged in these two different kinds of activities were in constant touch with one another and the result was that Grammar and the systems of Philosophy developed under the influence of one another. The Āgamas and the Tantras also played a part in this mutual influence.

Developing under the influence of the Vedic tradition and of the systems of Philosophy, including the *Āgamas* and the *Tantras*, *Vyākaraṇa* soon came to be regarded as a *darśana* The thinker who gave it a definite shape as a *darśana* was Bhartṛhari who can not be later than the fifth century A.D. Though a follower of the Vedic tradition, he was an independent thinker. When Mādhavācārya gives a brief exposition of the *Pāṇinidarśana* in his *Sarvadarśanasaṅgraha*, he does not quote Pāṇini or Kātyāyana or Patañjali as his authority. It is the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari which he quotes in order to expound the Philosophy of Pāṇini. By adopting a philosophical approach to the problems of the Sanskrit

language, by making *Vyākaraṇa* a *darśana* which offers man a way to liberation, Bhartṛhari was felt by some in Ancient India to be doing, not only something new but something unwarranted. Indeed Somānanda, in his Śivadṛṣṭi, almost rebukes Bhartṛhari for staying away from his proper domain, namely, that of explaining the formation of the words of the Sanskrit language and indulging in Philosophy by trying to define that knowledge, to attain that state of consciousness which leads to liberation. Of course, according to Somānanda, Bhartṛhari's attempt failed because, instead of defining *Vijñāna*, he could only define *Vijñānābhāsana*

The *Vākyapadīya*, as the name itself indicates, is a work dealing with the sentence *(vākya)* and the word (*pada*). And yet, it begins with a statement on the nature of *Brahman*. The relevance of such a beginning in a work devoted to the consideration of the sentence and the word is that *Brahman* would come under *phala* or goal, one of the eight topics declared by Bhartṛhari himself to constitute the subject matter of the *Vākyapadīya*, namely, the two kinds of meaning (*artha*) : that which is attained by analysis and that which is of a fixed character, the two kinds of word (*śabda*) : that which is to be grammatically formed and that which is a means of explaining it, the two kinds of relation *(sambandha)* : Causality and fitness to express the meaning and the two kinds of purpose or goal *(phala)* : acquisition of spiritual merit (*dharma*) and the understanding of meaning. To say that the purpose of the *Vākyapadīya* or of the Science of grammar in general is the acquisition of spiritual merit is to say that one can reach *svarga* and also attain liberation through it. It is not only as the goal to be attained that Bhartṛhari begins with *Brahman* but also as the ultimate source of everything, including the sentence and the word, the *vākya* and the *pada*, the two main subjects of the *vākyapadīya*. *Brahman* is the eternal and undifferentiated Word-principle (*śabdatattva*). The whole cosmos, the whole of the phenomenal world proceeds from it. All differentiation, consisting of the experiencers, all the objects of experience and the experience itself, and all the words expressive of the infinitely varied experience emanate from this Word-Principle. The *Veda* is the means of attaining this *Brahman-śabdatattva* of which it is an image and a manifestation. It is *āgama*, supreme knowledge, the source of all the sciences and more trustworthy than reasoning on some matters such as *dharma*. Grammar tells us what the correct forms of the words are. It is not only in their correct forms that words convey a meaning, but also in their corrupt forms as used by the uneducated and the uncultured. There is no difference between the two as far as the conveying of the meaning is concerned. The only difference is that the use of the

former leads to spiritual merit whereas the use of the latter does not. It is because the corrupt forms can fulfil this one purpose (*phala*) of conveying the meaning that Bhartṛhari says something about them also. The points which he makes are : (1) an *apabhraṃśa*, a corrupt form, is so always in regard to an original correct form, (2) it can convey the meaning of the correct word and it is as such that it is an *apabhraṃśa*, and it can be a correct word if it conveys some other meaning, (3) whether the form of a word is correct or corrupt cannot be determined unless the meaning is also taken into consideration, (4) though the corrupt form may convey the same meaning as its correct form. the two cannot be looked upon as synonyms, (5) though the corrupt form also conveys the meaning, it cannot be looked upon as its expressive (*vācaka*), because it can convey the meaning only indirectly, that is, after bringing the correct form to the m nd.

The real word is the *sphoṭa* which is to be distinguished from *nāda* or *dhvani* = 'sound' The earliest exposition of the *sphoṭa* doctrine associated with *Vaiyākaraṇas*, is found in the *Vākyapadīya*. It is in this context that Bhartṛhari makes certain distinctions very relevant to General Linguistics and indicated by such words as *dhvani*, *nāda*, *prākṛtadhvani*, *vaikṛtadhvani*, *varṇa*, *pada*, *vākya*, *vṛttibheda*, *grāhaka*, *grāhya*, *vyañjaka*, *vyaṅgya*, *prakāśaka*, *prakāśya* and so on. The real word, the *sphoṭa* is an eternal indivisible entity which exists in the speaker as well as the hearer and it is that which conveys the meaning when it is manifested by the sounds (*dhvanis*), produced by the vocal organs. Bhartṛhari describes the process of manifestation (*abhivyakti*), pointing out the part played by the *Buddhi*, *Prāṇa*, and the vocal organs in the process. He tells us not only what the manifested *sphoṭa* is but also the part which it and the word—Principle (*Śabdatattva*) play in all over cultural life at the different levels of consciousness. He tells us that it is the word (*Vāk*, *Śabda*) which is the basis of the distinction between the sentient and the insentient. All knowledge, all thought at all levels human or sub-human, is intertwined with the word.

In trying to define the word or the *sphoṭa*, the first thing which Bhartṛhari does is to distinguish it from the sounds which are uttered and which some mistook for the word. Though he speaks about the *varṇa* and the *pada* also as sphoṭa, it is the indivisible sentence which is the chief form of it and it is the unit of speech or communication. Both the word—aspect and the meaning—aspect of the sentence—*sphoṭa* are indivisible and eternal and stand towards each other as the expressive word (*vācaka*, *prakāśaka*) and the expressed meaning (*vācya*, *prakāśya*). The latter of the nature of *pratibhā* = intuition. For Bhartṛhari, these two alone are real.

But for practical purposes, it is necessary to analyse them (*apoddhāra*). what we get by the analysis, namely, the individual words and their meanings are only abstractions and have a lower level of reality. Bhartṛhari, however, discusses them and while he does so, some problems like the following arise : (1) What is the nature of the meaning which we obtain by analysis ? (2) If we analyse a sentence into parts, cannot the individual word also be so analysed and what would be the nature of the meaning obtained by such analysis ? (3) Are there words which cannot be analysed at all ? (4) When do words and word—elements directly express a meaning (*vācaka*) and when do they do no more than illuminate the meaning (*dyotaka*). (5) When a word denotes many objects, is it the same word which does so or is it a separate word with each meaning ? (*ekaśabdadarśanam* and *anekaśabdadarśanam*), (6) what is the difference between the primary and the secondary meanings of a word ? (7) what are *śabdopacāra* and *arthopacāra* ? (8) what are the factors which enable us to determine and to specify the meaning of a word in its different occurrences ? (9) Into how many parts of speech can a Sanskrit sentence be analysed and what would be the exact definition of each ? (10) Have individual phonemes any meaning ?

It is clear that even where the sentence is the main topic of discussion, there is a good deal of material relating to the ideas of ancient Indian grammarians on the nature of the individual word and its meaning. Though the questions have been raised in connection with the Sanskrit language, the answers given are applicable to other languages also. These discussions and those relating to the *sphoṭa* may be looked upon as Bhartṛhari's contribution to General Linguistics, including Semantics. Many questions discussed in the *Vākyapadīya* are the concern of Modern Linguistics also, of course, in very different circumstances.

The third *Kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* deals in detail with the meaning of the individual words, obtained by analysis. It is therefore, called the *padakāṇḍa*. It deals with very general and comprehensive notions first. The meaning of a word, whether it be a noun or a verb, has in it a very general element, something found in every word or part of a word, irrespective of its grammatical status. Also, there is always a relation between a word and its meaning, whatever be the nature of the latter. Such general and comprehensive notions are dealt with in the first three sections of this chapter. The meaning of all words or parts of words is either the universal (*jātī*) as *Vājapyāyana* held or the Substance (*dravya*) as *Vyāḍi* held. They are united with the word by a relation which is eternal. It is that which enables the word to convey its own meaning. Otherwise, any meaning would be understood from any word. As these notions

are of a very general nature, they are not very useful in explaining the formation of words. The language has not developed any special form to express them, because they are present in all forms and all kinds of words. To say that the universal is the meaning of all words is to say that it is the meaning of nouns and verbs, of the root and the stem of the primary and secondary suffixes.

There are, however, certain notions which are not of such a general nature but are more useful in explaining the formation of words. They are obtained by analysis which consists in the use of the method of agreement and difference (*anvaya* and *vyatireka*). These notions are obtained by observing the forms themselves or inferred from the way in which Pāṇini deals with these forms. The more important of these notions are : the second kind of ***dravya***, *guṇa*, *dik*, *sādhana*, *kriyā* and *kāla*. The last four have been grouped together because Bhartṛhari looked upon them as powers (*śakti*), inherent in substantial entities. The second kind of *dravya* is defined as that which is presented by the word as something to be qualified, to be distinguished (*bhedya*) from other things. *Guṇa*, its counterpart, is whatever the word presents as something which qualifies, which distinguishes another thing (*bhedaka*). *Dik* (Position) stands for the notion which brings about such distinctions as prior and posterior, straight and bent and so on. The sentence is considered to be expressive primarily of an action or process and it is the verb, the main word in it, which directly denotes this process. A whole section is devoted to the consideration of the nature of action or process. The other words in the sentence, mostly nouns, express the means or accessories (*sādhana*, *kāraka*) that help in the accomplishment of the action or process, while explaining *sādhana*, the difference between *hetu*, *kāraka*, *lakṣaṇa* and *karaṇa* is pointed out. *Sādhana* is a power. There is no limit to the number of powers of an object, but they have been brought under six headings beginning with *karma*. The verb expresses action or process associated with particular points of time. Because of this and because of the place of time as a power in the metaphysics of Bhartṛhari, a big section is devoted to time; which for Bhartṛhari, is the *svātantryaśakti* of *Brahman*. The notion of time is directly subordinate to action. So is the notion of aspect (*upagraha*), expressed by the *parasmaipada* and *ātmanepada* suffixes. The notions of number and person are also subordinate to action, not directly but indirectly, through the means (*sādhana*) of which they are the attributes. Some of these notions, such as that of means, are expressed by nouns also. The notion of gender is associated with nouns and adjectives only in Sanskrit. Bhartṛhari considers the notion to be important enough to devote a whole section to it. Here, as elsewhere, he develops a characteristic definition which is a blend of his observations of the facts of the Sanskrit

language, the statements on gender found in the *Mahābhāṣya* and the doctrine of the three *guṇas* of the *Sāṅkhya* philosophy.

So much for notions involved in simple formations, nouns or verbs, while analysing a sentence, one tumbles upon complex or integrated formations (*vṛtti*). Five such have been recognised in Sanskrit grammar : primary derivatives (*kṛdanta*), secondary derivatives (*taddhitānta*) compound words (*samāsa*), retention of one (*ekaśeṣa*) and denominative verb (*nāmadhātu*). Some of the special notions which play a part in these integrated formations have been dealt with in the last and biggest of the sections. The following topics, among others, have been discussed : (1) *Yugapadadhikaraṇatā* = 'the fact of denoting the group as well as its constituents at the same time, a characteristic of the *dvandva* compounds, (2) *ekārthībhāva* = 'the fact of both words together denoting one thing, as in compound words, to be distinguished from *vyapekṣā*, mutual relation as in a sentence, (3) resemblance and difference between the sentence and the compound word, (4) *abhedaikatva* = the undifferentiated singular number expressed by the secondary term in a compound, (5) the extension of the gender and number of one word to another, (6) the implication of the expression *anyapadārtha* in connection with a *bahuvrīhi* compound, (7) the meaning of negative compounds, (8) the gender and number of words expressive of the universal, (9) compounds and *taddhita* formations involving comparison. More than any other part of the *Vākyapadīya*, this last section is based on the *Mahābhāṣya*.

We can now see that the third *Kāṇḍa* deals with the great diversity of notions expressed by words and parts of words, obtained by analysis. Here we cannot but remember the three stages of *Vāk* that Bhartṛhari mentions in the first *kāṇḍa* the *Paśyantī*, the *Madhyamā* and the *Vaikharī*. *Paśyantī*, the first stage is one and absolutely free from all differentiation and sequence. It is beyond all notion of correctness, beyond all worldly usage. It is indivisible, it is the inner light, it is the subtle word, it is eternal. The second stage Madhyamā is purely mental and is not audible to others. *Prāṇa* is there in a very subtle form and so it appears to have sequence. In this stage, the word and the meaning are differentiated from each other but each one is still a unity. *Vaikharī* is the fully externalised last stage. Its association is with *Prāṇa* and the vocal organs (*sthāna* and *karaṇa*). Here both the word and the meaning are fully differentiated not only from each other but within each also, there is differentiation.

Is it an accident that, just as *Vāk* has three stages, so has *Vākyapadīya* which is, after all, a treatise on *vāk*, three *kāṇḍas* ? Would it be seeing too much in Bhartṛhari to say that he intended *Paśyantī* to be the chief subject-matter of the first *Kāṇḍa*, *Madhyamā*,

that of the second *kāṇḍa* and *Vaikharī* that of the third *kāṇḍa* ? The first chapter is called *Brahmakāṇḍa.* Brahman is the undifferentiated ultimate reality to which *Paśyantī* is very near. The indivisible sentence and sentence—meaning from the main subject matter of the second *kāṇḍa.* Thus differentiation into word and meaning has taken place, but each is still a unity. There is some differentiation, but the unity is also preserved. Would it be mere fancy to see in it a correspondence to the *Madhyamā* stage ? We saw how in the third *kāṇḍa*, we are entirely in the realm of analysis and differentiation which is just the characteristic of the *Vaikharī.* That all is not pure imagination and that Bhartṛhari might have meant his three *Kāṇḍas* to be representative of the three stages of *Vāk* is confirmed by one of the concluding stanzas of Helārāja's commentary on the third *Kāṇḍa.* In it, he definitely looks upon the third *Kāṇḍa* as the *Vaikharī.* He prays that this stage of Vāk, the *Vaikharī* should become well established among all men through his commentary. We do not have his commentary on the first two *Kāṇḍas.* So we cannot say whether he identified them with the *Paśyantī* and the *Madhyamā* or not.

Whether Bhartṛhari intended to emphasise one stage of *Vāk* in each *Kāṇḍa* or not it is remarkable that he is ever conscious, right through, the *Vākyapadīya* of the *Brahman-Śabdatattva* out of which the whole phenomenal world emanates. It runs like a thread through the work and gives it a kind of unity.

The work of dealing with the partly philosophical and partly linguistic notions underlying the forms of the Sanskrit language continued after Bhartṛhari in the *Vyākaraṇa* tradition. Similarly, emphasising the epistemological approach, thinkers belonging to the *Mīmāṁsā* and *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika* systems also continued their study of these subjects after the work of Śabara, Kumārila and Prabhākara. In the Grammatical tradition, the chief names are Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his commentator Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa and Nāgoji Bhaṭṭa. In Mīmāṁsā, Khaṇḍadeva has devoted his Bhāṭṭa-rahasya exclusively to a consideration of this subject and takes up a position in opposition to that of the Grammarians. In *Nyāya*, apart from Gaṅgeśa and the *Śabdakhaṇḍa* of his *Tattvacintāmaṇī*, the two chief names are Gadādhara with his *Śaktīvāda* and *Vyutpattivāda* and Jagadīśa with his *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā*.

I will confine myself to the *Vyākaraṇa* tradition. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita wrote the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā* states in the very first stanza that what he has done in that work is to state briefly what he has established more elaborately in his *Śabdakaustubha* which is a commentary on the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini. He claims to have expounded in that work all the important ideas found in the *Mahābhāṣya*

of Patañjali. He claims to have brought together all the important notions found scattered in the Mahābhāṣya and underlying the forms of the Sanskrit language and in some cases even applicable to other languages. As stated earlier, Bhartṛhari's *Vākyapadīya* is also based on the Mahābhāṣya. There is, however, a striking difference between Bhartṛhari and Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita in the way in which the notions in question have been arranged and in the nature of the problems raised. Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita does not attempt to present these notions in a philosophical background. His work, like the *Vākyapadīya* does not begin with a statement on *Brahman-Śabdatattva.* His approach is strictly grammatical and linguistic. This is obvious from the section headings themselves such as 'the meaning of the root' (*dhātvartha*), 'the meaning of the verbal suffixes (*lakārārtha*), the meaning of the case-endings'. (*subartha*), the meaning of the nouns (*nāmārtha*), the expressive power of the compounds (*samāsaśakti*), the expressive power of the word in general (*śakti*), the meaning of the negative particle (*nañartha*), the meaning of the particles (*nipātārtha*), the meaning of the abstract suffixes (*bhāvapratyayārtha*), the undifferentiated number (*abhedaika-tvasaṃkhyā*), the doctrine of *sphoṭa* (*sphoṭavāda*). All these topics have been dealt with in the *Vākyapadīya* also but they come incidentally in the course of the discussion of other topics of a more philosophical nature, indicated by such section—headings as the universal (*jāti*), the substance (*dravya*), the relation between the word and the meaning (*sambandha*), quality (*guṇa*). Direction or Space (*Dik*), the Means (*sādhana*), Action (*kriyā*), Time (*kāla*), Person (*Puruṣa*), Number (*saṅkhyā*), Aspect (*upagraha*), Gender (*Liṅga*), Integrated formations (*Vṛtti*) and so on. It is in the course of the discussion of how all words denote the universal that the question of the expression of number is dealt with in the *Vākyapadīya* whereas in the *Vaiyākaraṇasiddhāntakārikā-s*, the expression of number forms a separate topic. Similarly, it is in the course of the long section dealing with complex or integrated formations in the third *kāṇḍa* of the *Vākyapadīya* that Bhartrhari speaks about the undifferentiated number denoted by the secondary term of a compound whereas Bhaṭṭoji devotes a small section consisting of just one *kārikā* to it. It is significant that in the course of the explanation of the seventy-two stanzas of Bhaṭṭoji, his nephew Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa quotes, in his *Bhūṣaṇa* profusely from the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari who had long become the undisputed authority in all matters pertaining to the philosophical and linguistic side of Sanskrit grammar. It is also significant that Bhaṭṭoji, while not beginning his work with a reference to Brahman, does not forget to end it by such a reference. Here is how he ends his work—

इत्थं निष्कृष्यमाणं यच्छब्दतत्त्वं निरञ्जनम् ।
ब्रह्मैवेत्यक्षरं प्राहुस्तस्मै पूर्णात्मने नमः ॥

Coming to the next great writer in the *Vyākaraṇa* tradition, Nāgojibhaṭṭa wrote his *Vaiyākaraṇa-siddhānta-mañjūṣa* in order to deal with the *siddhānta* side of Sanskrit grammar. The word *siddhānta* has to be taken in the widest possible sense to include all ideas and notions relating to the origin and development of human speech, to thought and its expression in words, to the nature of the word, and to the forms of the Sanskrit language While the subject headings of Nagoji Bhaṭṭa are more similar to those of Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita than to those of Bhartṛhari, in other respects such as the comprehensiveness of the treatment of the subject, the tendency to connect thought in grammatical circles with thought in philosophical circles including the *āgamas* and the *tantras*, Nāgojibhaṭṭa is nearer to Bhartṛhari and his commentators Puṇyarāja and Helārāja, who are frequently quoted or referred to with respect and approval. While he adheres very closely to the grammatical tradition, as his reference to the *Mahābhāṣya* at every step shows it is remarkable how often he tries to justify or to explain grammatical notions with the help of these prevalent in the systems of philosophy like the *Sāṅkhya* and *Yoga, Mīmaṃsā* and *Nyāya*. His appeal to the *āgamas* and *tantras* and even to the *purāṇas* is frequent. On the whole his tendency is to show that there is a coherent system of thought in the different philosophical circles in spite of apparent contradictions. He claims to know all systems and to have written on all of them : सर्वतन्त्रार्थतत्त्वज्ञः सर्वत्र च निबन्धकृत्, as he says at the end of the work. We know that it is not a vain boast because many of his works on subjects other than grammar are available. He certainly was qualified to bring about a kind of synthesis of the ideas and notions prevalent in different circles. All this does not prevent him from rejecting the views of the other systems on particular points. In the midst of a spirit of synthesis, there is also the spirit of synthesis. He has decided preferences. A good example of his method of dealing with the different topics included in his work is furnished by his treatment of the subject of *sphoṭa* which is identified in some places with the ultimate reality. In the course of his treatment, such philosophical problems as the theory of error are somehow brought in and discussed with a wealth of references to well-known works and authors belonging to other systems. In this section, for instance, works on *Śikṣā*, the *Brahmasūtras* with the *Bhāṣya* of Śaṅkara, the *Bhāmatī* of Vācaspati Miśra, the *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa-khādya* of Srīharṣa, the *Sanatsujātīyabhāṣya*, the *Yogasūtras*, the *Ślokavārttika* of Kumārila, the *Bhāgavata*, *Kūrma*, *Brahmāṇḍa* and

Viṣṇu purāṇas and the *Paramārthasāra* are referred to or quoted frequently.

Another feature of his work distinguishing him from Bhaṭṭoji Dīkṣita and his commentator Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa is his presentation of his subject with the help of *Navya-Nyāya* technical terminology, a tendency which was spreading fast at that time to practically all the śāstras, including even *Sāhitya*. That this introduction of *tantra* in the presentation was done deliberately in order to respond to the demands of his time is proved by the following reference to it at the end of the work.

दृढस्तर्केऽस्य नाभ्यास इति चिन्त्यं न पण्डितैः ।
दृषदोऽपि हि सन्तीर्णाः पयोधौ रामयोगतः ।।

'AṆINI AND MODERN THOUGHT

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Since last century's beginning, when the science of language arose, up to our time when it reached a privileged position among the humanities, Pāṇini has been always present.

In the relationship between Pāṇini and the development of Western linguistic concepts, one could distinguish two facts: (1) Pāṇini did stimulate the Western linguistics, and (2) the understanding of the great Hindu grammarian derived advantage from the development of this science which he himself contributed to.

In this relationship between the Western and Indian linguistics the exchange pursued a definite course along a period lasting about two centuries. In the beginning prevailed Pāṇini's influence who decided directly the appearance of the Indo-European linguistics and played an indirect role in the development of structural thought. In exchange, in the last decades, a blossom of Pāṇinian studies took place with the help of recent linguistic and logical concepts.

The fact that the theoretical background of the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* is revealed gradually, as our humanities become more and more elaborated, substantiates not only the accuracy but the anticipative nature of the Pāṇinian thought.

Nowadays, when some linguists, in the quest of an universal grammar, are coming back to the Port-Royal theories inspired mainly by Aristotle, Pāṇini becomes again actual: his work is the only grammar built up on an Indo-European language, but independent from any Greek influence. Thus he may offer sound criteria in establishing the relations between logic and language.

SANSKRIT LINGUISTICS IN THE CONTEXT OF GENERAL LINGUISTICS

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1. Sanskrit grammar is at once a system of linguistic analysis and a formulation of principles of Linguistics. While Pāṇini's *Aṣṭādhyāyi* is a master-piece of the model analysis of a language Patañjali, and to a much greater extent Bhartṛhari, through his monumental *Vākyapadīya* formulated a system of Linguistics valid to contemporary times.

2. Language (Śabda) is not just a system of phonetics or vocalised cerebrations. It is an internal phenomenon, and constitutes the very being of man (jīva). The internal linguistic phenomenon has both the human and the universe as its centre. The birth of the Universe is from logos.

3. This linguistic Reality—in man which is eternal and internal is revealed as every-day speech, and in the multiplicity of languages. Ideation, and vocalisation are only stages in the realization of Speech-Reality. Speech as a Reality is infinite; but in the form of Language it is a process, in which time participates along with the mind and the vocal organs, *Parā*, *Paśyantī*, *Madhyamā*, *Vaikharī* are the stages of speech-realisation. Speech is eternal, while Language is generated. Just as Language is generated so grammar is also generated (cf. Chomskey).

4. The relationship between Speech and Meaning is fixed within the same language. This means that given a certain set of circumstances, a certain utterance would lead to conveying a certain meaning. This meaning is conveyed in a flash, so to say.

5. The sentence is the unit of meaningful utterance in language. In the operation of life the sentence alone is valid, even when an utterance contains only one word. Life is synonymous with action and action is conveyed by a sentence. Hence the supreme importance of *Vākyasphoṭa*—or the sentence as the

meaning-conveying element. In the process of conveying meaning words and word-meaning do not function as the cause of the sentence-meaning. They only contribute towards it. The sentence does not function mechanically as a sum total of words as the Nyāya and the Mīmāṁsā schools understand the problem. Words are rather recognised in the sentence by the grammarian's abstracting eye.

6. Meaning is a many-sided entity. It is not always the thing meant. The elementary meaning of a word is itself—that is, the phonetic entity. This is the most common meaning of a word in the grammatical context. *Svaṃ rūpaṃ śabdasya*. Meaning can and should be considered at several levels.

7. Speech is an event in a context and whatever is meaning is also conveyed in a context. Naturally, the various elements in the context contribute towards the function of speech. Some elements in this context are verbal, others, non-verbal and personal-psychological. (cf. J. R. Firth in the *Transactions of Philological Society*). To speak of verbal elements, the neighbouring words in a sentence can sometimes decide what the meaning of one word is, where there is an amb guity or uncertainty. As for non-verbal elements in the context of situation, sometimes it can be personal, and sometimes sociological. The known fact that a person is insane or drunken can lead to a particular kind of construction on what he says. Therefore personal elements in the context of situation are to be taken into account.

SANSKRIT AND THE LINGUISTIC SCIENCES

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The paper tries to determine the exact extent to which the study of Sanskrit has stimulated the growth of linguistic seiences (linguistics, philology, semantics, linguistic philosophy, stylistics) in the West. It then notes the areas which the Sanskritic studies could have influenced, but have not actually influenced; that is, it points out those findings which approximate the findings in the Sanskrit tradition, but which have been obtained independently in the western tradition. Finally, the possible avenues of the future influence of the study of Sanskrit are discussed.

SANSKRIT AND SEMANTICS

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Semantics deals with the theory of meaning. Semantics has two main divisions, 1. lexical semantics including lexical morphology, 2, syntactic semantics including syntactic morphology. The subject matter of lexical semantics is the study of meanings of words and that of lexical morphology is the study of various ways of word-formation. Syntactic semantics studies relational meanings and syntactic morphology studies word-order and other allied topics.

In all these branches of semantics Indians were the earliest pioneers. The *Nighaṇṭu*, a Vedic glossary containing synonyms, difficult words and names of deities was the base-book of the commentary of Yāska (C. 700 B.C.). This Nighaṇṭu is older by about a millennium than the "Onamastika" (C. 200 A.D.), a dictionary of synonyms in Greek. Yāska's commentary called *Nirukta* may reasonably be treated as the first extant treatise of semantics. But Yāska himself mentions as many as 17 predecessors, Śākaṭāyana, being one of them, upon whose theory of verbal origin of nouns, he based his etymological discussions. Yāska laid the foundation of the division of words by recognising four categories of them, namely, nouns, verbs, prepositions and conjunctions. Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) recognised only three categories of words, nouns, verbs and conjunctions.

The grammar of Pāṇini (C. 500 B.C.) is an important contribution to lexical morphology so far as it deals with semantic sides of word-formation. His grammar is mainly based on the verbal origin of nouns. About two thousand verbal roots have been enumerated in his *Dhātupāṭha*, an appendix to his *Aṣṭādhyāyī*. Pāṇini analysed words into root + suffix and assigned special meanings to every suffix.

Upon the *Aṣṭādhyāyī* of Pāṇini, Patañjali (C. 150 B.C.), wrote his great commentary, known as the *Mahābhāṣya*, in which we find a lot of semantic discussions. These discussions touch more or less every branch of semantics. Patañjali refers to the discussion about the import of words and mentions in this connection Vyāḍi and Vājapyāyana, the former holding that words denote individuals while according to the latter words denote genus. Patañjalı himself holds the view that words denote both genus and individuals (*MBH.* 1.2.64 & 1.2.58). Meaning of a root as well as of a suffix can be ascertained by applying the well-known logical formula of affirmative and negative relations 'anvaya-vyatireka' according to Patañjali (*MBH.* 1.2.45). He refers to various relations or associations in explaining changes in meanings of words and in those of sentences. Four such associations have been referred to under the rule 4.1.48 regarding changes in syntactic meanings. They are :— 1. *tātsthya* (= relation between the recipient and the thing to be received), 2. *tāddharmya* (=analogy or similarity), 3. *tatsāmīpya* (= proximity) and 4. *tatsāhacarya* (= concomitance).

Erudite discussions having direct bearings on semantics are found scattered in a large number of philosophical and grammatical works in Sanskrit. But the *Vākyapadīya* of Bhartṛhari (C. 400 A.D.) crowns all such works in many respects. Mīmāṃsakas like Kumārila and others made the *Vākyapadīya* their targets of criticism. Other Mīmāṃsakas like Maṇḍana etc. defended sphoṭavāda on the lines of the *Vākyapadīya*. Later grammarians like Nāgeśa and Kauṇḍa Bhaṭṭa only elaborated the principle enunciated by Bhartṛhari. The *Vākyapadīya*, preceded by about 1500 years, its modern counterpart *The Philosophy of Grammar* written by Otto Jesperson in the present century. As the title indicates, the *Vākyapadīya* deals with vākyas (= sentences) and padas (=words), that is, their significations. Sentence is the unit of language, according to Bhartṛhari (*Vāk.* 2.60). Vākyārtha or syntactic meaning according to him, is that extra meaning which is based on relations between words constituting a sentence, in addition to their own meanings :—

sambandhe sati yattvanyadādhikyamupajāyate/
vākyārthameva taṃ prāhuranekapada-saṃśrayam//
(*Vāk.* 2.42).

Although Patañjali mentions *sphoṭa* (= word-essence) (*MBH.* 1.1.70), it is Bhartṛhari who raised it to the status of a full-fledged theory. *Sphoṭa* is said to be eternal and self-existent bearing a permanent relation to the thing signified by it. Letters, words,

and sentences manifest but do not produce the eternal meanings. There were two important schools of *sphoṭavādins*. *Pada-sphoṭa-vādins* or the advocates of *pada-sphoṭa* hold that only a *pada* or a word can signify a meaning while *Vākyasphoṭa-vādins* or advocates of *Vākyasphoṭa* hold that only a *Vākya* or a sentence can signify a complete meaning. Bhartṛhari holds the latter view. Bhartṛhari has woven a metaphysics around his *sphoṭavāda* which may not be appreciated by the modern scientific temper.

Literary criticism in Sanskrit gave a new dimension to the meaning of science with the result that a new science, the science of expression, came into being.

What is modern in modern semantics is the use of the historical-comparative method, formerly semantic phenomena were viewed in static states and their study ended with their detailed descriptions only. With the advent of evolutionary outlook, semantic phenomena had to be viewed in dynamic states. Every change in the meaning of a given word had to be explained historically. With the change of method from the descriptive to the historical, static or descriptive or synchronistic semantics yielded place to dynamic or historical or diachronistic semantics.

Various phenomena are observed in semantic changes, important ones being, the primary meaning and the subsequent meaning of a given word, categories to which the two meanings belong, associations linking together the two meanings, directions (extension or restriction) and survival or loss of the primary meaning. Associations linking together the two meanings are the most important of all of them. Only by tracing out associations which link together the primary meaning and the subsequent meaning, one can understand the forces that guide the workings of semantic changes. The tri-partite division of meanings (extension, restriction and transference) worked out by M. Breal is still in vogue in modern semantics. The tri-partite division of meanings shows only directions, extension or restriction as the case may be, in which meanings are changed and says very little of the causes of semantic changes. The term transference of meaning is quite ambiguous and nothing definite can be made out of it.

Associations underlying semantic changes are very complex. It is here that Sanskrit semantics can play a useful role. Discussions on *sambandhas* (=relations or associations) are available in a large number of works on grammar, philosophy and literary criticism in Sanskrit. Even Pāṇini hinted at, although at another context, several such relations or associations in his rule, "Ṣaṣṭhī śeṣe" (2.3.50). Of all associations analogical association is the most important in the sense that it explains more words than any other

single association. Patañjali has mentioned five words, taila being one of them, as examples of analogical association (*MBh.* 5.2.29) The word *taila* is confined to Indo-Aryan languages only. Most of the European words for oil are derived from Lat. *oleum* (=olive) As oil in India originally was sesamum oil, so oil in Europe was originally olive-oil. *Taila* (*Av.* 1.7.2 if reading taila is correct) is a derivative of *tila* (*Av.* 18.4.32). As tila means sesamum, *taila* means sesamum oil. This is the primary meaning of *taila* which subsequently changed when *iṅguda*-oil was also called *iṅguda-taila* (*MBh.* 5.2.29). Now *iṅguda* is *terminalica catappa* and it is clear that the meaning of *taila* extended to oil-extracted from any grain, nuts or flowers on account of analogical association. Liquids extracted from grains or nuts are similar in many respects. The primary meaning sesamum oil belongs to the category of a species of plants. The subsequent meaning oil extracted from any species of oil producing plants belongs to the category of class-names. The direction of the change is extension. Both meanings survive *Taila*, in its different forms in modern Indo-Aryan languages and oil, in its different forms, in most of the modern European languages, have been continuously extending their meanings. Today, both taila as well as oil mean any lubricant or fuel.

Mṛga is an Indo-Iranian word, the parallel form in the Avesta being 'mərəg' which means large bird. *Mṛga* occurs several times in the *Ṛgveda* in the sense of wild animals, but at four places it also means 'deer' (*Rv.* 1.10.57 ; 4.58.6 ; 9.32.4 and 10.136.6). The primary meaning 'wild animals' and the subsequent meaning 'deer' both belong to the category of names of beings, the former a class-name and the latter the name of a species. The change in meaning is due to association of general and particular. It is a case of restriction or specialization so far as the mode of change is concerned. The primary meaning did not survive and the sense of deer prevailed in later literature. Similar semantic developments have taken place in case of Eng. 'deer'.

Mās is an Indo-European word. Kindred words like GK. *men*, Lat. *mensis* and Irish *mī* mean only month. Germanic and some Balto-Slavic languages have each two related words, one for month and the other for moon, e.g. Goth. *mena*=moon and *mēnovs* =month ; Lith. *menulis*=moon and *menesis*=months. In the Avesta *māh* means both moon and month. In the *Ṛgveda mās.* means moon (8.94.2) and month (10.52.3). Although both meanings of *mās* occur in the *Ṛv.* it may safely be decided that the primary meaning of *mās* is 'moon' as the counting of month was based on the completion of the revolution of the moon. A month was counted either from new moon to new moon or from full moon

to full moon. Naturally it was counted as one moon, two moons etc. When month became an abstract idea, that is, when its abstraction from the concrete moon was complete, an adjective 'candra' (=bright) was prefixed to 'mās' to avoid confusion. The change of meaning of 'mās' from moon to month may be explained on account of association of cause and effect. Both these meanings belong to two different categories. The meaning 'moon' belongs to the category of space and the meaning month to the category of time. The change of meaning here is neither a case of extension nor a case of restriction. The primary meaning did not survive in the post-Ṛgvedic literature.

It is thus clear that a more comprehensive system can be built up on the basis of associations underlying semantic changes for the understanding of the behaviour pattern of semantic phenomena.

Contributions of Sanskrit semantics to *Vākyārtha* (=syntactic meanings) are great and varied. Syntactic semantic can enrich itself by assimilating them.

When Sanskrit grammarians dicussed semantic problems they did not always confine themselves only to Sanskrit language. They discussed semantic activity not limited to any particular language but in its most general aspects. They propounded theories in a deductive and aprioristic form. Theory of *sphoṭa* was the result of their panchronistic semantic approach. Panchronistic or general semantics, a new branch of modern semantics, can re-organise itself by taking into account this aspect of Sanskrit semantics.

AN INTERPRETATION OF *APOHA* IN RELATION TO MODERN LINGUISTIC THOUGHT.

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The Buddhist philosophy of language is of course nothing but a special branch of Buddhist thinking in general and it may be somewhat difficult to convey its tenets without bringing in the general Buddhist presuppositions, especially the complicated theory of *dharma*, which is at the basis of all Buddhist speculation. But it is hoped that even without this background it will be possible to give an idea about an extremely interesting philosophy of language, which no doubt deserves the attention of modern linguistics. In the hope that also linguists who are not Sanskrit scholars will be induced to take interest in the subject I shall try to avoid the most deterring technicalities of traditional Indian presentation and give my interpretations a simple form.

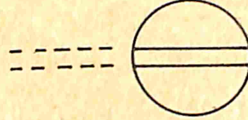
The themes of this paper will be the problem of the relation of language to "idea" (Vorstellung), to perception, to reality; further the relation of consciousness to reality and the bearing this relation has on the content of language. Further the partition of language into two parts : one inborn, one acquired. Finally the *apoha* proper: a word denotes a relation, not "something".

What I am going to say in the following has been taken out of an investigation on a larger scale, where my concern is to show that the development of the Buddhist ideas can be looked upon as a consequence of a persistent but not always successful endeavour to avoid the thought-pattern multiplicity: oneness, so cherished in the brahmanical thinking. It is possible that I have not been able to detach the actual theme from this background.

We shall have to depart from a multiplicity of separate moments: the ultimate elements (*dharma*) of reality. Both in order to include *kṣaṇa* and to prevent an uncalled-for materialistic interpretation of *dharma*, I shall be talking about *moments*.

First we shall see what the separate moments look like or how they "behave" when they are in a consciousness. This has to do with the forming of ideas (Vorstellung) and so also with the content of language.

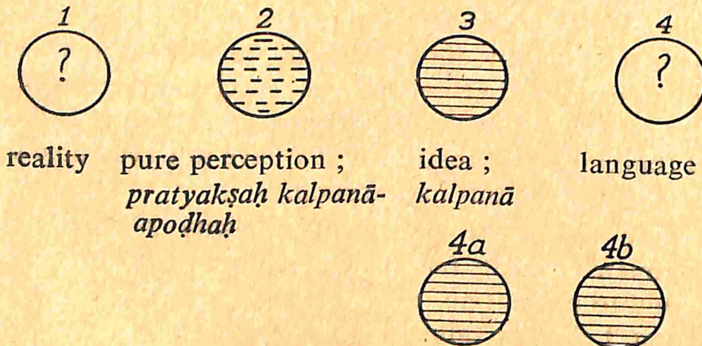
One single moment cannot form the object of a consciousness. The moments are connected in the consciousness to form a chain, a *santāna* :



The *unity* formed by this chain owes its existence solely to our consciousness, which connects the separate moments. And it is only the connected moment-chains that are distinctly (*niścayena*) grasped by our consciousness. So everything which is an object of our consciousness is composite. A completely isolated fact does not *exist* for our consciousness, as an idea (Vorstellung). (This, however, is a point of some controversy, like so many other points in Buddhism.)

But : it is *the separate moments* that *give* this knowledge, this idea. And it is said that only the separate moments are *real*, taking as criterion of reality the capacity of being *efficient*, of bringing about a result. The chain of moments is said not to have this capacity, and consequently it does not possess any reality. This is important, because it is this unreal chain of moments, this composite, general idea (allgemeine Vorstellung) which is the content of language. Such an idea is combined with, or possesses the capacity of combining with a word (cf. below).

Let us look at this from another point of view, a little bit more complicated. We will see, among other things, that the question of consciousness is more involved than might appear from our approach above.



"substructure" "superstructure"

The first symbol (1) stands for reality. What reality is like, we do not know. We put a question mark in the circle.

The second symbol (2) stands for that kind of knowledge which is called *pratyakṣa*: let us translate this by "perception". What is actually meant will be clear in a moment. It is generally believed that the great philosopher Dignāga (about 400 A.D.) was if not the originator, the one who worked out the qualification given to this "perception", viz. *kalpanāpoḍha*. This means that this perception is 'exempt of idea' ("Vorstellung" acc. to Frauwallner and the indologists of Vienna, "Denken" acc. to Stcherbatsky, "conceptual construction" acc to Hattori. I use for *kalpanā* the expression *idea*, meant as a rendering of "Vorstellung".)

We fill the circle (2) with short horizontal strokes symbolizing the isolated separate *data* which (in a somewhat mysterious manner in view of what was said above) "are" in the consciousness in this perception which is exempt of idea. What, then, are those *data*? They are those elements, those moments we spoke of above (the *dharmas*). But in this connection we prefer to use the expression *svalakṣaṇa* (called "Ding an sich" by Stcherbatsky!). A closer examination of this expression will bring us near the essence of this Buddhist way of reasoning (i.e. that of Dignāga and his followers).

Lakṣaṇa, as is well known, means mark, sign; distinctive feature, definition. To illustrate: if we have (in our system) to entities ◯ ⊙, equal but for the point, we may call the point the *lakṣaṇa* of that circle, that by which that circle is recognized, distinguished from the other circle.

Sva-lakṣaṇa is that which *itself is its own lakṣaṇa*, i.e. it is an entity that consists only of what distinguishes it from all other entities.

Now, "perception" cannot strictly speaking be characterized as knowledge, since it is not really conscious. A simple, isolated entity, a *svalakṣaṇa*, cannot be grasped in its isolation. Knowledge presupposes comparison; *svalakṣaṇa* is isolated and cannot be compared (even though, as just stated, the very notion of *svalakṣaṇa* presupposes comparison in the widest conceivable sense, viz. with everything!).

Now the *notion* of *svalakṣaṇa* does not belong to symbol 2, it is a synthetic idea about *svalakṣaṇa* and belongs to symbol 3, which I have filled with long strokes to symbolize idea, *kalpanā*, i.e. *svalakṣaṇa* as combined, in synthesis.

It follows from this that an idea (Vorstellung) is never simple, it is always composite. It is called *sāmānyalakṣaṇa*, i.e. it has something "common" as its definition.

It is only at this point (symbol 3) that language enters into the picture. Preliminarily we may say that 3 is the content of language. I symbolize language, so far without any further analysis, with another circle (4). We place a question mark in the circle to show that some important problems are to be discussed before we decide what symbols to fill it with.

The relation of language to its content : the viewpoints of two authors, Dignāga and Dharmakīrti, shall be discussed.

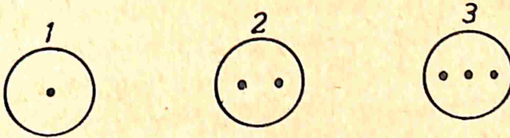
Dignāga seems to have meant that there is a indissoluble connection between word and idea ; at least this is the interpretation of Śāntarakṣita and Kamalaśīla in the great work Tarkasaṃgraha. And Hattori (Dignāga, On Perception.. p. 85) says that Dharmakīrti is more cautious than Dignāga in defining *kalpanā* as "a cognition of representation which is *capable of* being associated with a verbal designation". Thereby due consideration would be given to small children and dumb persons who do not talk but are supposed to have ideas. I am not sure I agree with Hattori at this point. It might be doubted whether the introduction of the difficult element "capacity" is cautious. Further I find it hard to believe that Dignāga was uncautious, in view of his profound analysis at other points. I think it should be noted that Dignāga did not analyze that which I have here called "language", the reason possibly being that this was not his subject. Frauwallner, Hattori and others have shown that Dignāga was influenced by brahmanical grammarians in so far as the linguistical side was concerned. (In one of his works Dignāga simply paraphrases a passage from Bhartṛhari, as has been shown by Frauwallner.) This I hope will justify the hypothesis that Dignāga did not consider language as an unanalyzed whole, but that he applied his analytical capacity on language just as he did on perception and idea. In short I think he must have divided language in at least two parts : (1) one part which is indissolubly connected with ideas and consequently inborn (*saṃskārāhita*) and belonging also to children and dumb persons, and (2) one part which is a superstructure on the inborn part, i.e. the words and, generally speaking, the "material" side of language which a child acquires little by little.

Therefore I suggest that symbol 4 be divided into 4 a and 4 b, where 4 a means a "substructure" of language, more or less isomorph with 3, whereas 4 b is not a double of 4 a. For 4 b may contain less than 4 a : e.g. *one* genitival ending expresses many different kinds of ideas about relations. Or 4b may contain more than 4 a : e.g. one can speak of "the son of a barren woman", "Rāhu's head", etc., these being instances of what is called *vikalpa* : false knowledge originating in the very structure of language—i.e.

language contains something more than the ideas (3) which are a synthesis of pure perception (2).[1]

My contention is that Dignāga must have been acquainted with speculations like these, and that he cannot possibly have contented himself with regarding "language" (symbol 4) as a compact unity.

We shall now proceed to discuss the meaning of a word. The following are some of the problems and arguments that present themselves. A word can never denote a *simple* idea. As we know an idea is always composite ; a simple sense datum (a *svalakṣaṇa*) cannot be ideated. But we talk about ideas in the plural, so it is reasonable to think that some kind of unities exists. We do not encompass the whole world in one sole idea. Then what are those unities : cow, horse, etc. ? Of course they are to be characterized as fictitious unities. But how are they to be determined ? First of all it should be clear that a unity cannot be determined in isolation. We must have more than one unity in order to be able to determine one of them :

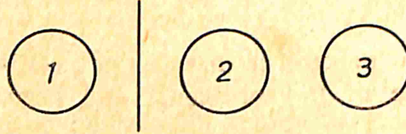


The more unities we have, the more determinations of the one we are interested in do we possess ; the more do we know about it. Namely : a unity is determined by the differences.

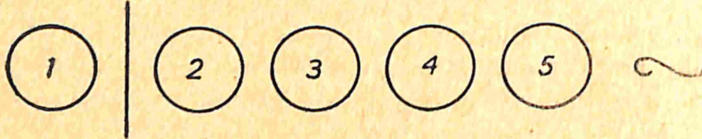
I shall develop this further. Taking the simple illustration above : we know more about 1, when we contrast it with both 2 and 3 than when we contrast 1 only with 2. Now, it is of course theoretically possible to imagine that we contrast 1 with everything else. This is what the theory of *anya-apoha* seems to do ; it excludes everything else. And here that extraordinary phenomenon "word" enters into the picture. As long as we have only those three circles with very simple symbols in them, we are able to see with one look how 1 is distinguished from 2 and 3. But if we replace 1 by the extremely complicated idea of that animal which is called in latin *bos taurus*, then it is much more difficult to determine the unity constituted by this idea. And here language in a way deceives us so that we believe that we imagine something positive (*vidhi*) and that

1. It is easy to see by now why 4 a was characterized above as "more or less" isomorph with 3. For the question arises, whether in a man in full possession of a language the structure of the language (4b) influences upon the "substructure" (4a) and even on the ideas (*kalpanā*) (3).

we speak about something positive, when we call our idea "cow". Actually there is a complicated interplay of negations in the ideas in the first place. It may be expressed like this : the idea "cow is negation of all ideas which are distinguished from the idea "cow". The idea "cow" is "not not-cow". To illustrate :



2 and 3 symbolize ideas which are not 1, and there are only these 3 in our system. Therefore it is easy to determine 1 as the opposite of 2 and 3 ; instead of 1 we may just as well say not-one-two. But our ideas are infinitely more numerous. To illustrate :



Here all which is not 1, viz. 2, 3, etc., is taken together to form a unity which may be denoted as "not-1" and 1 consequently becomes "not not-1"

Now, a word possesses the peculiar capacity of denoting the *whole of this complicated structure*. This is an interpretation of *apoha* which seems to avoid the pitfall of positiveness (*vidhi*).

Take e.g. the word "cow". When I hear the word "cow", it does not evoke in me a great number of ideas about (2) horse, (3) man, (4) goat, etc. which are thereafter negated. So the consequence seems to be, that the word "cow" denotes the *difference* between what *so to speak* is *not* in our consciousness (namely a fictitious unity of 2, 3, 4 etc) and that which (also *so to speak*) *is* in our consciousness, as an "idea", namely 1. Taking resource to an image, one might say that the word "cow" does not denote 1 and certainly not the unity of 2, 3, 4 etc., but it stands between both, oscillating ; it denotes a kind of relation.

Whether this interpretation would satisfy Dignāga and his followers is not possible to tell. If it should be a misunderstanding of the ancient philosophers' intentions, I venture to hope that it will prove to be a fruitful misunderstanding which may induce more competent scholars to put things right. The starting point of my interpretation was a strong feeling that the old philosophers could not possibly in their thinking about language and thought subscribe to that naive realism which has been characteristic of so much modern linguistic thinking. So when they said that "an idea is combined with a word" or "an idea has the capacity of combining

with a word" it could not possibly be any simple connection between two "entities". Of course the general Buddhist relationism had to prevail also in this field of human experience.

Before finishing this sketch I would like to draw the attention to the limitation of language and consciousness. It was said above several times that *svalakṣaṇa* is beyond our conscious experience and expression. To put it simply : what is infinitely small (ↄ : *svalakṣaṇa*) is beyond the question imposes itself, whether there is a limit also in the other direction : the infinitely great. Now there are in human language expressions which seemingly denote the infinitely great, e.g. "all". Is there any real idea (created by *svalakṣaṇas*) corresponding to "all", or is "all" to be characterized as a "*vikalpa*"? It seems most reasonable to think that no imagining, no conscious experience of "all" in the sense of infinity is possible. So it might be, that "all" actually must be regarded as something limited. If so, "all" may be said to be equal to "not not-all", parallel to "cow" being equal to "not not-cow", the difference—serious enough—being that "not-cow" can (at least partly) be grasped by normal human consciousness. This interpretation deprives Udyotakara's criticism of *apoha* of a great deal of its force. Śāntarakṣita's and Kamalaśīla's reply to Udyotkara's criticism is interesting but perhaps not on a line with Buddhist ideas of relationism. When Udyotakara raises the question of "all", Ś. and K. answer by taking the discussion down to a purely linguistic levelö. They refer to "linguistic practice" (*vyavahāra*) and say that the word "all" never stands isolated, it is always a part of a sentence (*vākya*). So, according to them, there is in this case an opposition between "all" and "some". Udyotakara's criticism must have presupposed an illimited system, otherwise his criticism would be pointless. Is it possible that the reason why Ś. and K. gave their answer this purely linguistic turn was, that they were aware of the fact that our consciousness, our capacity of forming ideas, our language are limited not only in the direction of the infinitely small but also in the opposite direction ? Whether their solution avoids the pitfall of *vidhi* is a problem which remains to be thought over.

CONTRIBUTION OF SANSKRIT TO THE STUDY OF LINGUISTICS

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A student of linguistics knows fairly well that the discovery of Sanskrit by the western scholars led to the foundaion of linguistics.

Greek and Latin were studied side by side since centuries in Europe. But their kinship could be clear only when their relationship with Sanskrit was established. This was so because the Sanskrit language retained the original picture much better than Greek and Latin. For instance forms like GK *thūmós*[1], Lat *fūmus*[1] could not be compared until and unless they were compared with Skt. *dhūmaḥ*[1] which retained the IE original *dh*, whereas IE *dh* had become *th* in GK and *f* in Lat. initially. Similarly Gk. *eruthro's*[2] and Lat. *ruber*[2] could not be known to be cognates unless their kinship with Skt. *rudhira-*[2] was recognised. It was discovered that in this case IE. *dh* had become *b* in Lat. medially. Similarly initial IE *dh* is found as *f* in Lat. *facio*[3] (= Skt *dhā-* etc.) and medial IE. *dh* is found as *b* in Lat *ūber*[4] (= Skt. *ūdhar*[4], Gk *oûthar*[4] etc.). So also Gk. *árktos*[5] and Lat. *ursus*[5] could not be recognized as cognates, as practically they were showing nothing common. Skt. *ṛkṣas*[5] linked up the Greek and Latin words together specially by the syllabic liquid which is retained intact only in Skt. and which lost its syllabicity in almost all the IE languages. To take one or two illustrations from morphology, Gk. *lúkoi*[6] and Goth *wulfōs*[6] both show nominative plural forms but with

1. Brugmann : KVG p. 154.
2. *Ibid* p. 153.
3. *Ibid* p. 155.
4. *Ibid* p. 155.
5. Misra : CGSGH p. 39
6. *Ibid* p. 61.

two different formations. Skt. *vṛkāḥ*[6] not only clarified that the IE form was *wḷkʷōs*, but also presented logic for it that the ending was IE —es (Skt. —*as*) which is contracted with the preceding vowel. Skt. retains the nominative plural ending —*as* (<IE —es) quite transparently with all stems which is not the case with any other IE language. For example IE *trey-es*[7], Skt. *tray-as*[8], but Gk. *treēs*[7], Lat. *trēs*[7], Goth *preis*[7] etc. In the words of Holger Pedersen[8] : "The people of India aided by the great clearness of their language, had carried very far the analysis of the component parts of a word which convey meaning, and the investigation of word-formation. But Greek and Latin were far from the transparency of Sanskrit and the Greeks and Romans did not attain anything like the Indian mastery of word-analysis."

Thus Pederson made it perfectly clear that the discovery of Sanskrit, not only presented a language full of transparent forms, but also a scientific method for linguistic analysis.

Pāṇini, who is styled as not only the greatest Grammarian of Sanskrit, but also as the greatest grammarian of the world dealt with phonology, morphology and syntax most clearly and comprehensively. Whatever he or Patañjali did two and a half millenia ago is not yet surpassed by any grammarian in any part of the world. This grammatical analysis which is chiefly descriptive, forms the key to the comparative Indo-European Grammar. The analysis of words into roots and suffixes or analysis of words into its component sounds is so perfectly and brilliantly done that this remained unparallel for centuries. The classification of sounds, the description of the place of articulation, the manner of articulation etc. has been so scientifically presented in these grammatical texts that the modern linguists have come to the same phonetic conclusion by a thorough research through mechanical apparatus. *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya*[9] clearly states that *ḷ* occurs as an allophone of *ḍ* intervocally. The *Amoghanandinī Śikṣā* distinguishes three allophones of *v* occurring initially, medially and finally. The *Nirukta* which is earlier than Pāṇini by a few centuries deals Vedic Etymology. Although many of the etymologies of *Nirukta* are not acceptable to comparative Philology[10], still its etymologies are superior in standard than the etymologies presented by Greek scholars even a few centuries later.

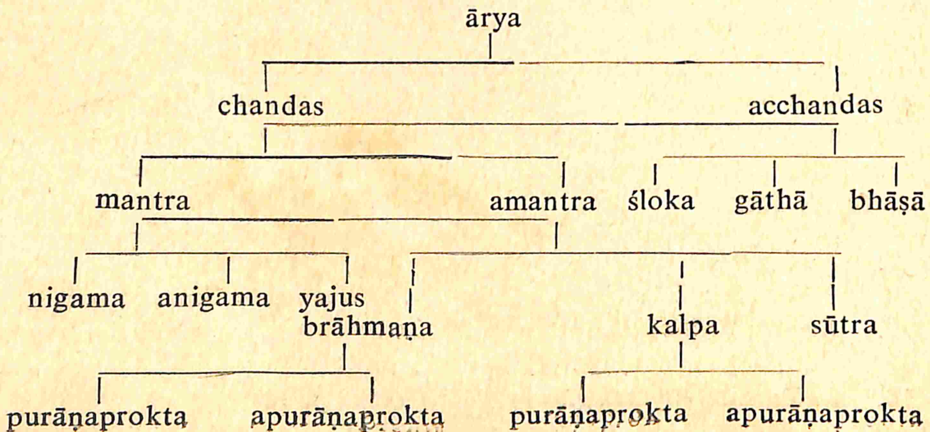
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7. *Ibid* p. 88.
8. Pedersen : *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century* p. 3.
9. *Ṛgveda Prātiśākhya* I.52 "dvayoś cāsya svarayor madhyam etya, sampadyate sa ḍakāro ḷakāraḥ".
10. S. Varma, *Etymologies of Yāska*, ch II p. 10-15.

Nighaṇṭu is a work of lexicography. Although there is no exact work on dialectology, there is mention of dialectal variations in *Nirukta* of Yāska[11] and *Mahābhāṣya* of Patañjali[12]. Paṇini's differentiation of Old Indo-Aryan into *chandas* and *acchandas* and further *chandas* into *mantra* and *amantra* etc. reveal that he was also aware of the dialectal or chronological variations in the language[13]

Thus several branches of linguistics like phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicography, dialectology etc. are more or less contributions of Sanskrit to descriptive linguistics. Pāli and Prākṛit grammars of Kaccāyana, Hemacandra etc. describe the language in such a way, deriving the sounds and forms from Sanskrit, that they practically present the beginning stage of historical grammar. Besides the contribution of Sanskrit to descriptive and historical linguisties, the contribution of Sanskrit to comparative linguistics is far greater as pointed out above. Thus all the three methods of linguistics are indebted to Sanskrit. For descriptive linguistics Sanskrit presented the methodology. For historical linguistics, Sanskrit along with Pāli and Prākṛt present material and the methodology. For comparative philology it presented quite valuable and voluminous material. Not only the kinship of languages like Greek and Latin was established by the study of Sanskrit but also the help of Sanskrit was taken whenever some new material is examined. The Hittite language which is a very important IE language was discovered only some years back.

11. *Nirukta* II 2, "savatiḥ gatikarmā kambojeṣu eva bhāṣyate...... dātir lavanārthe prācyeṣu, dātram udīcyeṣu.
12. *Mahābhāṣya* 1.1.1.1. "savati gatikarmā kambojeṣv eva bhāṣito bhavati vikāra enam āryā bhāṣante..... dātir lavanārthe prācyeṣu, dātram udīcyeṣu etc.
13. Vide Sukumar Sen /, *Pāṇinica* (p. 9) for details of the following classification of the Sanskrit language, as made by Pāṇini.



There are many words in Hittite for which cognates are found mainly in Sanskrit e.g. Hittite *sestsi*[14] 'he sleeps', cp Skt (vd) *sasti*[15] 'he sleeps' ; Hittite *arunas*[16] 'sea', cp. Skt *arṇas*[15] 'sea', Ht. *twek*[16] 'body' cp. Ṣkt *tvac*[16] 'skin', Ht. *rarantsi*[17] 'they brighten', wash Skt. *ra-* 'fire'.

To quote Pedersen[18] again "The knowledge of the language of ancient India, was a genuine revelation, not only because of its great age and transparent morphology, which unexpectedly caste new light upon the related European languages, but also because European scholars here, became acquainted with a highly developed linguistic Science, which had other points of departure and another evolution than the linguistic science of the Greeks. Moreover it was distinguished by the very thing so lacking in Greek linguistics—systematic, rational analysis of the forms of speech".

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17. CGSGH p. 19.
18. *Linguistic Science in the Nineteenth Century* p. 12.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON PERSIAN LITERATURE AND THINKING

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A close affinity of common linguistic background, cultural traditions and parallel philosophical understanding binds together two great nations of India and Iran, starting from the Ṛgveda and its continuance in the devotional literature of the Avesta which although produced on different soil, still speak of a very close relation between the two countries abiding through the ages. The hymns of the Ṛgveda and the Avestan Gāthās possess a common vocabulary and we come across such words and phrases which do not find parallel in other Indo-European languages. Both Sanskrit and Avestan language due to common stock of words on one side, and similar linguistic peculiarities on the other, establish themselves as two dialects of a common Indo-Iranian language

The two clans of the Aryan people— the Indian and the Iranian, before parting with one another, lived in a common homeland for a considerable length of time. They shared a common Indo-Iranian civilisation and were wedded to a common religion which may not be fully traced for want of strict evidence but it can be established to some extent by a close comparison of the Vedas and the Avestan literature. Undoubtedly, the religious literature of these two Aryan peoples originated from a common source and was influenced by the pre-existent culture of the two lands, and this is a befitting example of similar thought processes, similar religion and even certain common deities of worship.

In the Sasanian period the *Pañcatantra* was brought from India to Iran and was translated into Pahlavi. Later on it was rendered into Arabic by an Iranian scholar called Ibn-e-Muqaffa'. Rudaki, the Chaucer of Persian poetry, who lived in 10th century A.D., put it into Persian verse and it was followed by numerous versions of the work. The *Pañcatantra* has left its marked impact

on Persian literature. It shows that from a very early time the Iranians had developed interest in Sanskrit literature and respect for Indian wisdom and thinking. Hafis, the greatest lyric poet of Iran, pays his tributes to the sagacity of the Brahman :—

Now that the state of the World has sunk to deterioration,
I yearn alas ! for the wisdom of a philosopher and the sagacity of a Brahman.

The advent of the Muslims in India brought about a happy result by converting this land into a confluence of two great cultures, Indian and Islamic. But since Islam found its way to India through Iran and Iranians, it may be said that the Muslim culture that flourished in the Indian sub-continent is largely Iranian. The gradual synthesis of these two cultures created an open ground in the Indian soil and generated a spirit of cooperation and understanding among the various groups of this country.

Muslim kings and rulers during the long history of their rule evinced genuine interest in adopting and absorbing the best of the Indian culture and thinking. While some of them dedicated themselves to the propagation and patronage of Persian language and literature, they also made an earnest effort to revive Sanskrit literature by rendering the best of it into Persian. Among the Mughal emperors and princes Akbar and Dara Shikoh no doubt won the best laurels in this regard, but long before Akbar, the translation of Sanskrit literature into Persian was commenced. As a matter of fact it was Muhammed al-Biruni, the Iranian genius who brought the valuable gems out of the ocean of Sanskrit literature. Later Muslim scholars continued their study of Sanskrit literature and produced the result of their labour either in the form of Persian translations or independent works on Indian culture and philosophy. Today we have in hand the Persian translations of most of the fundamental Sanskrit works, the *Mahābhārata*, the *Gītā*, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Purāṇas*, etc. These Persian translations, sometimes served as the only means of spreading Indian thought. The case of the fifty *Upaniṣads* translated by Dara Shukoh who was Iranian on his mother's side, is unique in this respect. It was this translation which introduced the *Upaniṣads* for the first time to the European readers.

It so happened that M. Gentil, the ambassador of France in the court of Nawwab Shujauddola of Awadh, sent a copy of Dara's translation to Paris for his friend Anquetil Duperron who had travelled the eastern countries and was very much interested in Hinduism and Zoroashtrianism. Duperron was deeply impressed by the *Upaniṣads* and translated them into French and Latin. The Latin translation was published in 1801-1802. It reached the hands

of the great German philosopher Schopenhauer who came so much under the spell of the *Upaniṣads* that he declared : "It has been the solace of my life, it will be the solace of my death". Other philosophers like Schelling also speak highly of the *Upaniṣads*. Thus we see that the credit of introducing this great Indian literature to Europe and to the Western world goes to the Persian translation. This Persian translation of the *Upaniṣads*, called *Sirr-e-Akbar*, was critically edited with explanatory notes and glossary by Dr. Tara Chand, the great Indian scholar and the present writer and was published from Teheran in 1958.

The translation of Sanskrit works into Persian was one of the significant factors for the absorption of many Sanskrit words into Persian and if a comprehensive list of all such words used in Persian is prepared, it will be really interesting and linguistically useful. It may be pointed out that in addition to Sanskrit words used in Persian, words of Northern Indian dialects also found their way into Persian and we find interesting instances both in prose and poetry. Minuchitri, a court poet of Mahmud Ghaznawi, uses the word *Langhan* (fast) and Sana'i, a contemporary poet of Bahram Shah Ghaznawi (1117-57 A.M.) uses the words *Maida* (finest flour) and *Pani* (water).

The best influence of Sanskrit literature on Persian is, however, witnessed in the field of Sufism and Sufi literature. Most of the prominent Sufi poets and writers like Sana'i, Attar, Rumi, Iraqi Hama-dani, Auhadi Kirmani, etc., were influenced by Indian thought and Sanskrit literature. Muslim Sufis and mystics who presented the essentials of Islamic culture to India also derived many mystical ideas from Indian saints and expressed them in their teachings. Many of these Sufis migrated to India from Iran and they played a significant role in the synthesis of the Muslim and Hindu cultures. They won the heart of the Indian people with love and affection. Their *Khangahs* (monasteries) became the centres of human brotherhood, unity and search for truth. Far from the frets and frowns of the worldly life, these Sufis such as Shaikh Ali Hujwairi, Khwaja Mu'inuddin Chishti, Khwaja Qutbuddin Bakhtiyar Kaki, Nizamuddin Auliya, etc., guided mankind to spiritual serenity and universal brotherhood. However, in their quest for truth and the Supreme Being, the Muslim Sufis realised the metaphysical significance of the *Vedānta* philosophy and equipped themselves with some of its mystical content. But it may be pointed out that it was a two way traffic. While the Muslim Sufis received something from the Indian saints, they in turn impressed them with their own spiritual treasure. Kabir and Nanak are only two of the Indian saints who received inspiration from Sufism

and the Muslim Sufis. This process of give and take is also examplified by the *Bhakti* movement. It was started by the Hindu saints but the Muslim Sufis came under its influence and adopted many practices and ideas of the Hindu *yogis*.

Sufism and the *Vedānta* philosophy share many ideas. *Tauhid* is *Advaita*, *Zat-e-Mutlaq* is *Braham*, *Alam* is *Brahma-loka*, *Ma'rifat* is *Jñāna*, *Shu'ur* is *Buddhi*, *Khudi* is *Ahaṅkāra*, *Nafs* is *Man*, *Fikr* is *Chit*, and so on. The *Wahdat-ul-Wujud* of Ibn-e-Arabi believed in by many Muslim Sufis corresponds to the pantheistic monism of Śankara's Vedānta. Husain B. Mansur Hallaj declared *Ana al-Haq* (I am God), and Bayazid Bastami, an Iranian Sufi, used to say *Laisa fi Jubbati Siwa Allah*—"Beneath my cloak there is none but God". These sayings are so similar with *Aham Brahmāsmi* (I am Brahma). Hallaj is said to have made a journey to India and there he might have come under the influence of the Indian saints. The ultimate goal of man, according to the Vedas, is *Mukti* or complete emancipation from the material world. *Mukti*, however, has five stages the last of which is *Kaivalya* where *Jīvātman* becomes *Paramātman*. This last stage of *Mukti* is interpreted by the Muslim Sufis as *Fana Fillah* or annihilation in the Supreme Being. Rumi, the greatest Sufi poet of Iran, traces the different stages of *Mukti* or *Fana* in the following verses of his immortal work, the *Mathnawi* :—

> When the inanimate vanished it reappeared as
> vegetation, and when the vegetation withered
> away, it came out in the form of an animal.
> After the animal was destroyed by death, he
> came to life as man.
> Again when man is lost in the wilderness of
> death, he shall have his rebirth as an angel
> pure.
> Yet the stage of angel shall have to be crossed
> as all but God is mortal.
> The evolution of life thus takes one beyond the
> world of existence. Truly to Him we have to
> return.
> When water of a jar is poured into a stream (and
> water has a natural recourse to it), it is
> instantly submerged into the great body of water
> and becomes inseparable.

The Indian saints believe that the universe is illusion (*māyā*) and has no real existence. What is beheld by the human eye is

simply a dream fantasy, a mirage or like the semblance of a snake in a rope. For many Muslim Sufis this concept of *māyā* forms a pivotal point of Sufism. Fani Isfahani says :—

> What appears to be existing, does not exist in fact
> and what seems to be non-existent does exist.
> Existence of the Universe is nothing else but
> illusion, yet this deep mystery can be realised
> by the soul alone.

The Supreme Being (*Brahma*) is the one and only reality and all the rest is His reflection and manifestation. Man, his mind, intellect and other determinations are manifestations of the Supreme soul which pervades the entire universe and makes every particle of dust throb with life. Attar says :—

> The universe is filled with you and all vanish
> in you but you are not there. You are both hidden
> and manifest or you are neither hidden nor
> manifest.
>
> In every particle of dust I find you. The
> universe is but your reflection.

These quotations show the close affinity between the Indian and Iranian thinking. This community of mind inspired the writings of many Muslims. The works of Prince Dara Shukoh is a valuable example of the assimilation of Hindu and Muslim mysticism. Such literature rendered a great service to the Indian society and brought the Hindus and Muslims closer. The Muslim Sufis were actually the prophets of peace, humanity, love and affection and what they preached was in confirmity with the essentials of the *Vedānta* philosophy. This synthesis of Sufism and *Vedānta* is an abiding hope of humanity in a world torn by wars and worries.

In our age tremendous changes are taking place in India and Iran through cultural and social revolution. Cultural exchanges between the two countries have taken new dimensions. In Iran at present a Chair of Indology is being maintained in the University of Tehran at the order of His Imperial Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr who has elevated the country by bringing into effect the high objectives of the White Revolution. It is hoped that reciprocal chairs of Iranology would be established in Indian universities. A major role can be played by the intellectuals and scholars of India and Iran in the expansion of cultural relations between the two countries and with their humanitarian missions they should prove themselves to be the worthy sons of Cyrus the Great, and Aśoka, who made for the first time the declaration of human rights.

भारत–ईराण सम्बन्धाः

आचार्य धर्मेन्द्रनाथः

भारतवर्षस्य ईराणस्य च सम्बन्धाः प्राचीनकालादारभ्य नितरां निकटतरा आसन्। 'आर्य' इति-शब्दमूलो हि 'ईराण' शब्दः। संस्कृतभाषायां जानपदानां देशस्य बोधे द्वितीया बहुषु भवति। यथा हि काश्मीरान्, मालवानित्यादि। अनयैव प्रक्रियया आर्यशब्दस्य योगे आर्यान् शब्दो लभ्यते। इत्येव ईराणन्-शब्दस्य व्युत्पत्तिः।

आर्याणां मूलभूमिः कतमाऽऽसीदित्येतदधिकृत्य लोके, श्रुतौ, इतिहासे, पण्डितेषु च बहुविधो मतभेदः प्रवर्तते। भारतवर्षे आर्यजनानामादिमभूमिं त्रिविष्टपं मन्यन्ते। ईराणस्य पुराणग्रन्थेषु 'आर्यानवेइज़ो" नामकं कञ्चनानभिज्ञातप्रदेशमार्याणामाद्यं देशं मन्यन्ते तत्रत्येतिहासपुराणज्ञाः। केचन ईराणवास्तव्यविद्वांस आर्यानवेइज़ो-प्रदेशं भारतवर्षे पञ्जाबस्य कस्मिंश्चिद् देशैकभागे स्थापयन्ति। सन्त्येके तत्र भारतीया विद्वांसो ये च काश्यपेय-सागरतटवर्तिनं प्रदेशमार्याणामादिदेशमनुमन्यन्ते। यथा तथा वा भवतु। ईराणस्य भारतस्य च आर्याणां प्रभव एक एव। न तत्र कोऽपि क्वापि मतभेदो दृश्यते। एष प्रभवसामान्यं कथानक– सुभाषित– क्रीडा– भाषातत्त्व-सामान्येन च सुष्ठु निदृश्यते।

ईराणीयासु कतिपयासु नीतिकथासु केषाञ्चित् प्रसिद्धानां भारतीयकथानकानां प्रभावः समुत्प्रेक्ष्यते। ऐतरेयब्राह्मणस्य प्रसिद्धा कथाऽनुश्रूयतेऽथैकदा महाराजस्य हरिश्चन्द्रस्य जलोदरो नाम रोगो जातः। सर्वाश्चिकित्सा निष्फला जाताः। तदा क्रियाक्रमविद्वद्भिर्भिषग्भिर्वरुणस्य प्रसादार्थं नरबलिः समादिष्टाः। न कोऽपि स्वेच्छया राज्ञे प्राणसमर्पणमङ्गीचकार। अन्ततोगत्वा कश्चन ब्राह्मणोऽजीगर्त्तनामा गोशतप्रतिदत्तं स्वीयमात्मजं राज्ञे ददौ। ननु कः खलु नरो बलिं जघन्यं कर्म कुर्यात्। तत्रापि गोशतमपरमङ्गीकृत्य पिता चैतत्कर्त्तुमुद्यतो बभूव। तदा वरुणदेवस्य कृपया पाशबद्धस्य शुनःशेपस्य कण्ठाद् वेदवाणी निःसृता। वरुणस्य कृपयैव तस्य पाशा निकृन्तिताः। शुनःशेपो ऋषिपदं प्राप। एवं दृष्ट्वा हरिश्चन्द्रस्तमुन्मोचितवान् बहुविधोपहारैर्द्रविणैश्च तं सन्तोषितवान्। ततः शुनःशेपस्य पिता अजीगर्त्तः "पुत्र पुत्रेति ब्रुवाणः प्रसृतबाहुश्च शुनःशेपं प्रति धावयामास। परन्तु शुनःशेपो न पुनर्ययौपितुर्गृहमिति। अस्या एव कथाया ईराणीयं रूपान्तरं सादिनः प्रसिद्धे ग्रन्थे गुलिस्ताने प्रथमेऽध्याये त्रयोविंशतितमायां कथायां समुपलभ्यते। अनेन निदृश्यते वेदपूर्वोऽयं कथानक ईराणीयासु लोककथासु चापि प्रचलतितराम्।

अथान्यापि लोककथा भारतस्य ईराणस्य गृहेषु कथ्यते श्रूयते च । मार्जारी नवनवतिर्व्यूहभेदान् सिंहं शशास ऋते पुनर्व्यूहैकम् । सिंहो यदा सर्वं व्यूहमशिक्षिष्ट तदा स मार्जारीं जिज्ञासितवानथ— "हे मातृष्वसर् ! अप्यन्यो व्यूहः कश्चिदवशिष्टः" ? नहीत्युक्तः सिंहो मार्जारीमुदाकुरुत । मार्जारी चपलगत्या वृक्षमेकमारुरोह । सिंहो वृक्षतलावस्थित ब्रूते—"अहो त्वया गुरुकर्त्तव्यो ग्लायितो यन्न सर्वं व्यूहसमूहमुक्तवती । कथमेतं वृक्षारोहव्यूहं न मां शासितवती । मार्जारी वृक्षोच्चभागादनवतीर्णा उवाच— "एतदेव विघ्नं ध्यायं ध्यायमेष व्यूहो मया संकल्प्तोऽवशिष्टश्च" ।

इदमेव सिंहमार्जारीयं गुलिस्तानस्य प्रथमेऽध्याये अष्टाविंशतितमायां कथायां मल्लशिष्यकथारूपेण समुपलभ्यते ।

भारतीयानि ईराणीयानि सुभाषितान्यपि समानतराणि । यच् चाणक्य—चरक—विष्णुशर्मादयो ब्रुवते तद्धि सादी ब्रूते । एतावती हि पुनरेषा समानता यत् प्रतीयतेऽथैको हि कवि द्वे वाणी अधिकृत्यैकमेव सुभाषितमुदीरयति ।

महामुनिश्चाणक्यो ब्रूते ।
"आमोदं कुसुमभवं मृदेव धत्ते
मृद्गन्धं कुसुमानि नैव धारयन्ति ।

एतदेव सुभाषितं विवृण्वन् सादी ईषद्विस्तरेणैवं ब्रूते—

गिले खुशबूए दर हम्माय रोज़े । रसीद'ज़् दस्ते महबूबे व दस्तम् ।
बदू गुफ्तम् कि मुश्की या अबीरी । कि अज़् बूए दिलावेज़े तो मस्तम् ।
बिगुफ़ता मन् गिले नाचीज़ बूदम् । बलेकिन मुद्दते बा गुल निशस्तम् ।
कमाले हमनशीं दर मन् असर कर्द । वगरना मन् हमा खाकम् कि हस्तम् ।

सूक्ति-सामान्यमथान्यच्चापि द्रष्टव्यमस्ति—

1—विष्णुशर्मा ब्रूते पञ्चतन्त्रे—

न हि तस्मात् फलं किञ्चित् सुकृष्टादूषरादिव ।

शेख मुस्लिहुद्दीन सादी भाषान्तरेण ब्रूते—

ज़मीने शोर सुम्बुल बर नयारद ।

2—चरकसंहिताकारश्चरको ब्रूते—

यथाखरश्चन्दनभारवाही भारस्य वेत्ता न तु चन्दनस्य ।
एवं हि शास्त्राणि बहून्यधीत्य चार्थेषु मूढाः खरवद् वहन्ति ।।

सादी तामेव सूक्तिमेवं ब्रूते—

इल्म चन्दाकि बेशतर ख़्वानी । चुँ अमल दर तो नेस्त नादानी ।
नै मुहक़्क़िक़ बुवद नै दानिशमन्द । चारपाये बरू किताबे चन्द ।।
आँ तिहीमग़्ज़ रा चि इल्मो खबर । कि बरू हैज़म'स्त या दफ़्तर ।।

3—पञ्चतन्त्रकारो ब्रूते—

पूर्वे वयसि यः शान्तः स शान्त इति मे मतिः ।
धातुषु क्षीयमाणेषु शमः कस्य न जायते ।।

तदेव गुलिस्तानकारो ब्रूते—

जवाने गोशानशीं शेरमर्दे राहे ख़ुदा'स्त ।
कि पीर ख़ुद न तवानद कि गोशाए बरख़ास्त ।।

4—चाणक्यो ब्रूते—

राज्ञि धर्मिणि धर्मिष्ठाः पापे पापाः समे प्रजाः ।
राजानमनुवर्तन्ते यथा राजा तथा प्रजाः ।।

सादी, "यथा राजा तथा प्रजाः" एतद् वाक्यांशम्मात्रमेव ब्रूते—

अन्नासु अला दीनि मुलूकिहिम् ।

5—पञ्चतन्त्रकारो ब्रूते—

कौशेयं कृमिजं सुवर्णमुपलाद् दूर्वापि गोरोमतः
पङ्कात्तामरसं शशांङ्क उदधेरिन्दीवरं गोमयात् ।
काष्ठादग्निरहेः फणादपि मणिर्गोपित्ततो रोचना
प्रकाशयं स्वगुणोदयेन गुणिनो गच्छन्ति किं जन्मना ।।

सादी उदाहरणान्यैरेवं ब्रूते—

हुनर बिनुमा अगर दारी नै गौहर ।
गुल'ज़् ख़्वार'स्तो इबराहीम'ज़् आज़र ।।

6—विष्णुशर्मा ब्रूते—

उत्तिष्ठमानस्तु परो नोपेक्ष्यः पथ्यमिच्छता ।

शेख सादी ब्रूते—

दुश्मन न तवाँ हक़ीरो बेचारा शुमुर्द ।

आवयोर्न केवलं सुभाषित सामान्यं विद्यतेऽपितु बालखेलासामान्यं चापि वर्तते ।

ईरान-देशस्य पर्वतीयभागे बालानां बीथिक्रीडा प्रवर्तते ख़िर्सकनाम्नी । ख़िर्स अर्थात् ऋक्षः, सग अर्थात् श्वकः । एतस्यां क्रीडायामेको बालको ऋक्षभावं गतः श्वभावं गतैर्बालकैः साकं क्रीडति । ऋक्षरूपो बालक आत्मानमभिरक्षति, श्वरूपा बालकास्तमनु धावमानास्तं प्रकुर्वते । गुप्तनरेशानां कालेऽयं खेलाप्रकारः "श्वार्क्षिक" इति नाम्ना प्रथित आसीत् । (श्वाच ऋक्षश्च=श्वर्क्षः, ततो ठक्, ठस्येकः, किति च, इति श्वार्क्षिकः,) । अयमेव श्वार्क्षिको वर्त्तमाने काले भारते धुआद्दिया— दुआद्दी— छुआछू वा नाम्ना अद्यापि बालकबालिकासु प्रचलतितराम् ।

ईराणीया भारतीयाश्च एकस्मात् स्रोतस उद्भूताः । अस्माकं देशे एका राक्षसी पूतना नाम्नी प्रसिद्धा आसीत् । सा राक्षसी बालकान् विषाक्तं स्तन्यं पाययति स्म । ये बालका मातृस्तन्यं न पिबन्ति, वेपमानाश्च, स्रस्तांगाः संत्रस्ताश्च भवन्ति स्म, ते पूतनाजुष्टा जाता इति मन्यन्तेस्म लोकाः । कालान्तरेण एषा राक्षसी शीतपूतना इति नाम्ना आयुर्वेदज्ञैरभिहिता तथा च इयं बालरोगप्रकरणे सन्निविष्टा ।

अस्यैव रोगस्य रूपकवर्णनमस्माभिः कृष्णलीलायामपि दृश्यते । कंसप्रेरिता पूतना राक्षसी कृष्णं स्वीयं विषाक्तं स्तन्यं पाययितुमाजगाम । तस्याः स्तनतटे विषा-लेपः । सा कृष्णं स्व-क्रोडे निधाय तं स्तन्यं पाययति । अर्थात् श्रीकृष्णः पूतनारोगेण समाक्रान्तो बभूव । ततः स स्तन्यमार्गेण तस्याः प्राणानपि पपौ । सा राक्षसी च चीत्कारं कृत्वा ममार । अर्थात् श्रीकृष्णः शीतपूतनारोगं जघान, स्वस्थभावं च गत इति भावः ।

ईरानदेश इयमेव शीतपूतना अथवा पूतना राक्षसी बर्देअ़ज़ूज़ अर्थात् शीतवृद्धा इति नाम्ना ख्याता आसीत् । सापि बालकान् स्वस्य शीतलक्रोडे निधाय दुग्धं पाययति स्म । तेन बालकाः शैत्यवेपमानाङ्गाः मातृस्तन्यद्विषश्च भवन्ति स्म । सादिनो गुलि-स्ताने वर्णनमुपलभ्यते—

गुले सुरखश् चु आरिज़ो ख़ूबाँ ।
सुम्बुलश् हमचु ज़ुल्फे महबूबाँ ॥
ह़म्रचुनान् अज् नहीबे बर्दे अजूज़ ।
नरीशा ख़ुर्दा तिफले दाया हनूज़ ॥

SANSKRIT CLASSICS IN PERSIAN

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After hard study and research of nearly two hundred years, the philologists have ultimately come to this conclusion that Old Persian or Pahlavi and Sanskrit are two sister languages, either of which can be changed into the other by slight phonetic variations. Both have branched off from an ancient stock of the Aryan family of languages. Not only that we find identical thoughts expressed in the *Zend Avesta* and the *Ṛg Veda*, but even the languages employed by both these scriptures are of the identical form and style.

The exchange of ideas, philosophies, customs, manners and wisdom between India and Iran was very common. We have it recorded in various standard Persian books that Nowshirwan the Just, after hearing that India possessed a herb, which gave immortality to one taking it, sent one of his trusted wise men Barzui, to fetch the same from here. Barzui came to India in quest of this immortalising herb and learnt that it was the book of *Pañcatantra* which yielded eternal life. He memorized the whole work and took it to Nowshirwan who got it translated into Old Persian or Pahlavi and gave it the name of *Kalilak-O-Dimnak*, originally *Karataka-O-Damanaka* after the two characters who play an important part in the course of the book. It may be of interest to know that King Qabus bin Washmgir of Khwarazm in the tenth century advises his son to study it to gain wisdom as is borne out by the *Qabus Nameh* and the writer of the Introduction to Firdausi's *Shahnameh* also mentions it as a source of wisdom. Both these authorities mention about the stories of the *Rāmāyaṇa* also to gain practical experience in life to be able to learn the art of government.

KALILAK-VA-DIMNAK

The Pahlavi *Kalilak-O-Dimnak*, imported from India into Iran, was translated into Arabic in A.D. 750, when Iran came under the

sway of the Arabs. Firdausi, the eminent national poet of Iran, has written about both the above affairs in the *Shahnameh*. In the first narration, he makes mention of the Indian wisdom, which got its way into Iran through the *Pañcatantra* when he says :—

"Today in the annals of the Hindus, I saw with my illumined soul,
Written that in the hills of India exists a herb,
Which when sprinkled on the dead makes them speak instantly,
It is through wisdom that man is re-enlivened.
Through wisdom he lives.
Kalila is the herb and wisdom the hill,
This book leads to wisdom and royal treasures.
From Pahlavi, it was translated into Arabic as you see it now."

In the second one, he expresses his displeasure on the Arab invasion of his motherland and writes contemptuously of this incident :—

"Arabs who drink camel's milk and eat lizards have the audacity
To pine for the Iranian throne. O sky, woe be unto you!"

The book has now been translated into Modern Persian directly from Sanskrit by Dr. Indu Shekhar and published by his Majesty Shahanshah Aryamehr of Iran's Translation Department.

The game of chess was also imported by Nowshirwan from India and the Sanskrit work *Chatrang Namek* was translated into Pahlavi with the same name. Some books on Mathematics were translated into Persian in the times of Caliph Harounul Rashid and the *Zero* and its relative evaluation are virtually a gift of India to the Muslim mathematical sciences.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA

In the earliest introduction to the *Shahnameh* of Firdausi (10th century A.D.) and even in earlier Persian works like the *Qabus Nàmeh*, as mentioned before, there are references to the story of Rāma and Rāmin (Rāvaṇa) and Shanaq (Cāṇakya), which fact signifies that the stories of *Rāmāyaṇa* and of Caṇakya were pretty well-known to the people of Iran cven before the inva·ion of Mahmud of Ghazni. Mahmud in the late 10th century and the early 11th century invaded India 17 times taking with him large numbers of people as well as huge treasures to Ghazni, where a particular locality was inhabited by Indians exclusively. Tilak was a Hindu general and interpreter of Mahmud. Others in his court were Sundar, Bijoy Roy and Nath with thousands of Indian soldiers forming Mahmud's Indian battalions,

AL-BIRUNI

Al-Biruni came with Mahmud to India and stayed on for more than thirty years to study Indian languages, literatures, philosphies sciences, history and culture. He compiled a book named *'Al-Hind'* in which he gives a detailed account of the history, philosophy, religions, customs and manners of the Hindus. He mentions the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* and quotes copiously from the *Bhagavad-Gītā* in his book. His was the first systematic study of India, her religious philosophies and culture which holds good even today after a lapse of nearly one thousand years.

ZAIN-UL-ABEDIN

In Kashmir in the 14th century, Hindus were scared away from the valley due to the atrocities wrought by Sikandar *but-shikan* (iconoclast); but in the beginning of the 15th century, he was succeeded by his son, Zain-ul-Abedin, the most benevolent king of Kashmir, who recalled Kashmiri Hindus and tried sincerely to rehabilitate them politically, morally, socially and culturally. He got the *Mahābhārata* translated into Persian and the History of Kashmir written in Sanskrit verse by Kalhaṇa Pandit, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* in the wake of Firdausi's *Shahnameh.*

AKBAR THE GREAT

Akbar thought about the scheme of national integration through cultures, so that isolation of one community from the other on grounds of culture might be abolished. He commissioned a body of scholars comprising Abul Fazl, his brother Faizi, Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni, Naqib Khan, Muhammad Sultan Thanesari and Mulla Sheri to translate the *Mahābhārata* into Persian. Abul Fazl and Faizi, who were the co-authors with the emperor in his Din-i-Ilahi, a synthesis of faiths, undertook this job of translating Sanskrit classics into Persian with pleasure; but Mulla Abdul Qadir Badauni and others considered it as an imposition and did it under duress. Badauni translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* also in A.H. 997 after working on it for 4 years; but his rendering savours profusely of his distaste for the assignment. Faizi translated the *Bhagavad-Gītā* into Persian verse and *Līlāvatī*, a mathematical treatise into Persian prose.

BURIED TREASURE

Saadullah Masihi Kairanvi Panipati translated the *Rāmāyaṇa* into Persian verse. He was a courtier of Mirza Muqarrab Khan Hassu under whose description in the *Maathar-ul-Umara*, some of

the verses of Saadullah's *Rāmāyaṇa* are given. He was more or less a contemporary of Tulasidas, whose Hindi version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* is universally respected by the Hindus. Saadullah Masihi has dealt with the incarnation of Rāma in expressions identical with that of Tulasidas. He undertook the task quite seriously but his contemporary co-religionists took him to task for this heretic undertaking and he complains of their behaviour in places more than one though he justifies his action by saying that he simply re-narrated the story in Persian which already existed in Sanskrit and 'to copy heresy was no heresy in itself' according to the tenets of Islam. Masihi's version of the *Rāmāyaṇa* deserves special attention as his attempt has been ignored by Muslim writers of Persian anthologies, otherwise his faithful rendering of the Hindu epic would have introduced the story into Persian-speaking countries and among the Indian Muslims, but 'his own people buried it under the debris of oblivion' from where it should be disinterred now when India is a free country. The late Sir Muhammad Iqbal wrote to the late Maharaja Sir Krishna Prasad of Hyderabad to provide him with a copy of it, which he wanted to edit and publish. But alas ! no copy was available then, though there are a few copies available now. It is very reasonable to hope that proper attention should be paid to its publication by some cultural society sponsored by the government or by private enterprise.

DARA SHIKOH

Masihi's was not the only example of one persecuted for one's so called heretic undertaking. Dara Shikoh, the elder brother of Aurangzeb and the heir-apparent of Shah Jahan, was the one who had to pay the price of his life for a similar venture. Dara Shikoh, having been influenced by a Sufi of the Qadiri order, Mian Mir, the mystic of Lahore, who laid the foundation of Sikh Golden Temple of Amritsar, and also by the Vedāntic teachings of Baba Lal Bairagi of Dhianpur, translated about fifty *Upaniṣads* into Persian including the principal ones, as also the *Yoga Vāsiṣtha*, *Bhagavad Gītā* and other classics of the Hindus. He wrote a book with the name of *Majmaul Bahrain* in Persian and *Samudra-Sangam* in Sanskrit wherein he mentioned the similarity that existed between Hinduism and Islam so as to bring one closer to the other. He had to suffer for his convictions and was deprived of the Mughal throne for his activities unpalatable to his usurper brother Aurangzeb.

HINDU ATTEMPTS

After Aurangzeb's tyrannous attitude to the popularisation of Hindu classics, hardly any Muslim ventured to undertake this kind

of work. The Hindus by then had taken up Persian studies and in some spheres had even excelled the Muslims. They themselves now came forward into the field and produced abundant literature in Persian which Muslim historians scrupulously avoided mentioning. Not only that the Muslim historians failed to mention Hindu religious literature in Persian, but the Hindu poets of Persian who enriched the literature, failed to attract their attention. Lexicography was the only field wherein the contribution of Hindus was recognised inside and outside the country.

The following Hindu classics were translated into Persian by different authors and as it will be apparent from the list, Hindus played an important role in this venture :

Vedas : Atharva Veda by Mulla Badauni and an extract of the Vedas by Amar Nath.

Upaniṣads : Fifty-two Upanishads by Dara Shikoh.

Bhagavad Gītā : By Abul Fazl, Faizi, Dara Shikoh, Abbas Shustri and Sant Prasad Madhosh.

Brahma Sūtras : *Śankara Bhāṣya* by Lachhmi Narain.

Rāmāyaṇa : By Bedil, Badauni, Neh Narain, Girdhar Das, Chandra Man, Makhan Lal, Devi Das, Amar Singh, Amanat Rai, Anand Ghan, Mohar Singh, Saadullah Masihi Panipati, Misr Ramdas and others.

Mahābhārata : Al Biruni, Abul Fazl, Faizi, Badauni and Za mul Abedin.

Yogavāṣiṣtha : By Dara Shikoh.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa : Raja Todar Mull and Lakshmi Narain Saroor.

Rājataraṅgiṇī : Narain Kaul.

Nala Daman & Lilāvatī : By Faizi.

Ātma Bilās : By Brahmin.

Bhakta-Mālā : Naunit Ram and Nathan Lal.

Narsingh Charitra : Rai Shiv Prasad.

Śankara Digvijaya : Lakshmi Narain.

Amar Charitra : Ram Prasad.

Pañcatantra & Śakuntalā : Dr. Indu Shekhar.

Vikrama-Urvaśi : Dr. S. H. A. Abidi.

Ever since the liquidation of the Qajar role in Iran and coming into power of the Pahlavi regime in 1926, there have been continuous attempts to understand India better. Though the British rulers of India did not see eye to eye with this aspiration of the late King Reza Shah Pahlavi, the Maker of Modern Iran, Iranians as a nation tried earnestly to get closer to Indian culture

and traditions. Persistent efforts were made to eliminate the Arab influence in language, literature and culture and introduce the Zoroastrian and Aryan influences in its stead which actuated Iranians to make a fresh appraisal of India.

SHAKUNTALA

Not only that the religious books of the Hindus have attracted the attention of the Iranians, even classical dramas like *Śākuntala* have found place in Persian literature. Dr. Ali Asghar Hekmat, who is specially interested in India and her culture, has written profusely about India. SARZAMIN-E-HIND, his *magnum opus*, is a detailed encyclopaedia of India in Persian. Besides Dr. Hekmat, Dr. Hadi Hasan and Dr. Indu Shekhar have translated the *Śākuntala* into Persian. Dr. Shekhar translated *Pañcatantra* also.

UPANIṢADS

It is an irony of fate that the *Upanishads* rendered into Persian by Dara Shikoh could not be printed in India so far with the care and attention they deserved. Once in Jaipur they were very poorly lithographed. A Lahore Muslim publisher once tried to bring them out, but his co-religionists threatened to set fire to his shop if he did not destroy the printed stock of this book which had cost Dara Shikoh his life and throne. Mr. Jalali Naini, with the help of Dr. Tara Chand, has brought out this Persian version from Iran with profuse illustrations, nicely bound, copiously annotated and beautifully got up, manifesting an unorthodox attitude towards Islam by Modern Iran. It was the Latin version of this Persian rendering by Anquetil Duperron which introduced *Upaniṣads* and thus the Indian Philosophy to the Western world.

We have seen that much of the Indian literature has been translated into Persian ; but much less of the Persian literature has found its way into the literatures of India. Gulistan, Bostan of Saadi ; Odes of Hafiz ; Rubaiyat of Umar Khayyam and selections from Firdausi, Nivami, Jami and Qaani have been rendered in some Indian languages ; but there remains much to be done so that the two ancient sister languages Sanskrit and Persian, should absorb each other better and forge a cultural unity. Only recently Mr. Dharmendracharya of Jaipur has rendered Gulitstan of Saadi from Persian.

INFLUENCE AND CONTRIBUTION OF SANSKRIT TO ORIENTAL CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION

V.N. OJHA, M.A., B.L.,
'Kavya Tritha'

"In India there is no twilight before the Dawn. From the darkness of the antiquity we find sudden emergence of bright light showing a vista of rich culture—That is in the Vedas."

The above extract on the Vedas puts in nut-shell the position of Indian culture and civilization embedded in ancient Sanskrit texts, vis-a-vis some other oriental countries. Precisely for these reasons, when we speak of the influence of Sanskrit, it automatically means influence of Indian culture and civilization. Those aware of the very very ancient history of China may feel somewhat astounded by the claims made about Indian influence on these Oriental countries. But when we talk of culture and civilization we are not thinking of China of pre-historic age, nor of the researches of Andraws which led him to think that Mongolia was thickly populated as far back as 20,000 B.C. by a race whose descendants spread into Siberia and China when Southern Mongolia dried up and became desert, nor even of the age when according to the Chinese legends the earliest kings reigned 18000 years. When we talk of the history of Chinese culture and civilization we can trace back to Fu Hsi (2,850 BC) who with the help of his enlightended Queen taught his people music, marriage, writing, painting, fishing etc. which are traces of civilization. According to the learned author W. Durant, during the duchies of Cheng and Chin (535, 512 BC), the codes of laws were issued "much to the horror of peasantry who predicted divine punishment for such outrages and indeed the capital of Cheng was soon destroyed by fire." Therefore, when we talk of codified laws or social imposition we cannot go much earlier than this period.

In comparison, I need not dwell upon the age of the Vedas which throw out at once pictures of a sophisticated society. Culture, social laws and customs had attained the form of convention.

According to the "Orion", the age of the Vedas based on the astronomical calculations, has been assessed as *circa* 4000 BC. Even if this is brushed aside the excavations at Mohanjodaro and Harappa leave one amused at the developed stage of handicrafts. According to John Marshall, "these discoveries establish the existence in Sind (the northern most province of the Bombay Presidency) and the Punjab, during the fourth and third millennium B.C., of a highly developed city life, and the presence, in many of the houses, of wells and bathrooms as well as an elaborate drainage system, be token a social condition of the citizens at least equal to that found in Sumer, and superior to that prevailing in contemporary Babylonia and Egypt. ......Even at *Ur* the houses are by no means equal in point of construction to the Mohenjodaro".

Childe is inclined to this conclusion : "By the end of the fourth millennium B.C. the material culture of Abydos, Ur., or Mohenjo-daro would stand comparison with that of *Periclean Athens* or of any medieval town...Judging by the domestic architecture, the seal-cutting, and the grace of the pottery, the Indus civilization was ahead of the Babylonian at the beginning of the third millennium (ca. 3000 B.C.). But that was a late phase of the Indian culture ; it may have enjoyed no less lead in earlier times".

Even so recent excavations near Chitaldrug, in Mysore, revealed six levels of buried cultures, rising from Stone Age implements and geometrically adorned pottery apparently as old as 4000 B.C., to remains as late as 1200 A.D.

If handicrafts had so well developed, it very well indicates that authors of those handicrafts had also developed taste for fineness of arts. I have taken up a comparison of the Indian and Chinese culture and civilization first of all because compared to India China has an old history. The theory of influence of Indian civilization and culture on these of the eastern countries is not a new theory. Even according to Durant the history of China and Japan flowed in another stream and the stream was from the West to the East. I will take up some accurate cases where not only influence but some effect is undeniable. The Chinese Society was built not on Science but on a strange and unique mixture of science and religion, morals and philosophy. This may appear contrary to Hindu philosophy so blessed (or cursed) with Gods. Durant explains these contradictions by ascribing to the philosophy of China a degree of influence unparalleled in the history (of none else than India).

The faith of Confucius, the greatest moralist and philosopher of China, included recognition of *Shangti* (not much different from

Śānti), the supreme ruling force of the world which led gradually to recognition of Heaven, as a Will of God or of the world. After a thousand of years the Taoist faith was broken not by the logic of the Confucian but by the coming of a new religion better suited to inspire and console the common man.

"For, the Buddhism that began its migration from India to China in the first century after Christ was not the hard and gloomy doctrine that the Enlightened One had preached five hundred years before; it was no ascetic creed, but a bright and happy faith in helping deities and a flowering paradise, it took the form as time went on, of the Greater Vehicle or *Mahāyānu*, which Kaniṣka's theologians had adapted to the emotional needs of simple men; it presented China with freshly personal and humane gods like Amitābha, Ruler of Paradise, and Kuan-Yin, god—then goddess of mercy; it filled the Chinese Pantheon with Lohans or Arhats—eighteen of the original disciples of Buddha — who stood ready at every turn to give of their merits to help a bewildered and suffering mankind."

"The new religion took possession of many old shrines, placed its monks and fanes along with those of the Taoists on the holy mountain Tai-shan, aroused the people to many pious pilgrimages, contributed powerfully to painting, sculpture, architecture, litereture, and the development of printing, and brought a civilizing measure of gentleness into the Chinese soul."

Coming to the rule of morals one will not be surprised when one finds preference for male issues over the female in the Chinese rule of morals as in ancient Indian scriptures—where the Hiudus asked for शतशो मे पुत्रा जायन्ताम् । They never wished for girls but only for sons. The very word पुत्र is derived from पुन्नाम्नो नरकात् त्रायते इति पुत्रः ।

The same is not applicable to female issues. One does not come across any prayer for birth of girls. The following passage in Fu Hsuan sang is indicative :—

"No one is glad when a girl is born :
By her the family sets no store.
When she grows up she hides in her room.
Afraid to look a man in the face.

From China the natural trend of the stream was from eastward to Japan. The Japanese history does not carry one deeper into antiquity.

"In 522 A.D. Buddhism, which had entered China five hundred years before, passed over from the continent, and began

a rapid conquest of Japan. Two elements met to give it victory: the religious needs of the people, and the political needs of the State. For it was not Buddha's Buddhism that came, agnostic, pessimistic and puritan, dreaming of blissful extinction; it was the Mahayana Buddhism of gentle gods like Amida and Kwannon, of cheerful ceremonial, saving Bodhisattvas, and personal immortality".

"We do not know whether it was statesmanship or piety that brought victory to Buddhism in Japan. When, in 586 A.D., the Emperor Yomei died, the succession was contested in arms by two rival families, both of them politically devoted to the new creed. Prince Shotoku Taishi, who had been born, we are told, with a holy relic clasped in his infant hand, led the Buddhist faction to victory, established the Empress Suiko on the throne, and for twenty-nine years (592-621) ruled the sacred Islands as Prince Imperial and Regent. He lavished funds upon Buddhist temples, encouraged and supported the Buddhist clergy, promulgated the Buddhist ethic in national decrees, and became in general the Aśoka of Japanese Buddhism. He patronised the arts and sciences, imported artists and artisans from Korea and China, wrote history, painted pictures and supervised the building of the Horiuji Temple, the oldest extant masterpiece in the art of Japan."

The omnipotence of the father in Japan, even in the whole of the East, expressed a backward condition of society and a preference for familial rather than political Government. And this is a direct borrowing from India.

Proceeding to the west of India we are on a much surer footing, and have to deal with acknowledged facts. I will pass over briefly to the immediate neighbour Persia. The word "Zend" denotes "translation" and "interpretation". The word Avesta is a word of uncertain origin derived from the Vedas, from Aryan root "Vid" to know". "Any student of Vedas going through the Zend Avesta" discovers here and there, the gods, the ideas, sometimes the very words and phrases of the Ṛg-Veda to such an extent that some Indian scholars consider the Avesta to have been inspired not by Ahura Mazda but by the Vedas". (Durant, XIII). The Sun God was adored as the highest, as the most characteristic embodiment of Ahura-Mazda and Mithra. Mithra again is a word of Vedic origin. Even Aryan offering 'Somajuice' to Gods advanced and continued far into Zoroastrian days in form of *Haoma*.

The following table shows the very closeness, rather sameness of the words of Sanskrit......and those in Zend Avesta and the influence of Indian culture and civilization on the Persian ;

Some examples of the correlation :

Old Persian	*Sanskrit*	*Greek*	*Latin*	*German*	*English*
Pitar	Pitar	Pater	Pater	Vater	father
nāma	nāma	onoma	nōmen	Name	name
napāt (grandson)	*napāt*	anepsios	nepos	Neffe	nephew
bar	bhṛ	ferein	ferre	führen	bear
mātar	mātar	meter	mater	Mutter	mother
brāter	bhrātar	phrater	frater	Bruder	brother
Śta	Stha	istemi	sto	stehen	stand

(Durant, XIII)

Coming to Egypt, civilization of this country, had grown along the bank of the Nile as in India the civilization also had grown firstly along the northern rivers. It has been said that in 4000 B.C. the people of Nile had forged a form of Government. The first historical person known in the history of Egypt is not a conqueror or a king but an Artist or Scientist in *Imhotep*, a physician, an architect and chief of advisor of King Zoser (3150 B.C.). He was so famous for medicine that later the people worshiped him as "God of knowledge".

The records of Hindu medicine begin with the *Atharva Veda* : there, embedded in a mass of magic and incantations, is a list of diseases with their symptoms. Medicine arose as an adjunct to magic : the healer studied and used earthly means of cure to help his spiritual formulas ; later he relied more and more upon such secular methods, continuing the magic spell, like our bedside manner, a psychological aid. Appended to the *Atharva Veda* is the Āyur Veda ("The Science of Longevity"). In this oldest system of Hindu medicine illness is attributed to disorder in one of the humors (Phlegm, Wind and Bile) and treatment is recommended with herbs and charms. Many of its diagnoses and cures are still used in India, with a success that is sometimes the envy of Western physicians. The Ṛg Veda names over a thousand such herbs, and advocates water as the best cure for most diseases. Even in Vedic times physicians and surgeons were being differentiated from magic doctors, and were living in houses surrounded by gardens in which they cultivated medicinal plants." (Durant XIX).

Durant says : "The general picture of Indian medicine is one of rapid development in the Vedic and Buddhist periods, followed by centuries of slow and cautious improvement. How much Atreya, Dhanvantari and Suśruta owed to Greece, and how much Greece

owed to them, we do not know. In the time of Alexander, says Garrison "Hindu physicians and surgeons enjoyed a well deserved reputation for superior knowledge and skill, and even Aristotle is believed by some students to have been indebted to them. So too with the Persians and the Arabs : It is difficult to say how much Indian medicine owed to the physicians of Baghdad, and through them to the heritage of Babylonian medicine in the Near East : on the one hand certain remedies, like opium and mercury, and some modes of diagnosis, like feeling the pulse, appear to have entered India from Persia; on the other we find Persians and Arabs translating into their languages, in the eighth century A.D., the thousand year-old compendia of Suśruta and Caraka. The great Caliph Haroun-al-Rashid accepted the preeminence of Indian medicine and scholarship, and imported Hindu physicians to organise hospitals and medical schools in Baghdad. Lord Ampthill concludes that medieval and modern Europe owes its system of medicine directly to the Arabs, and through them to India. Probably this noblest and most uncertain of the sciences had an approximately equal antiquity and developed in contemporary contact and mutual influence, in Sumeria, Egypt and India."

In the field of philosophy, morals and religion there is so much similarity that one cannot but conclude indirect influence of India.

"The moon was God, perhaps the oldest of all that were worshipped in Egypt; but in the official theology the greatest of the gods was the sun. Sometimes it was worshiped as the supreme deity *Ra* or *Re*, the bright father who fertilized Mother Earth with rays of penetrating heat and light. Sometimes it was a divine calf, born anew at every dawn, sailing the sky slowly in a celestial boat, and descending into the west, at evening, like an old man tottering to his grave. Or the sun was the god Horus, taking the graceful from of a falcon, flying majestically across the heavens day after day as if in supervision of his realm .. ." (Durant VIII)

Isis the great mother was not only the loyal sister and wife of Osiris but like woman in general she conquered death through love.

"She represented in Egypt -as *Kali*, Ishtar and Cybele represented in Asia, Demeter in Greece, and Ceres in Rome—the original priority and independence of the female principle in creation and in inheritance..." (Durant VIII)

The following extracts regarding the sungod in Egyptian literature compares well to the hymn of Sāvitrī in the Vedas :

"Thy dawning is beautiful in the horizon of the sky.
O living Aton, Beginning of life.
when thou risest in the eastern horizon,
Though fillest every land with thy beauty."
"Thou art Re, and thou carriest them all away captive,
Thou bindest them by thy love.
Though thou art far away, thy rays are upon earth;
Though thou art on high, thy footprints are the day ."
(Durant VIII).

Similar analysis in case of Babylonia, Assyria and Middle-East countries will show a continued flow of culture and civilization from the eastern neighbour, India. India had even in that antique age, a rich store of its philosophy, religious theologies and books on morals (which go to concretise culture), to contribute to our nelighbours. It must have paved the way for later in road in trade and commerce and to establish an abiding tie with them. In fact, this under-current or flow of culture which is still preserved in our ancient books is a thread with which we can still bind the nations together in the thread of unity — the cultural and linguistic unity. This is a very important treasure which we can exploit to its utmost in the present days of numerous considerations — materialistic and political — spreading dissentions among nations and States. In fact India has always cherished good will and happiness to all —

"सर्वे भवन्तु सुखिनः सर्वेसन्तु निरामयाः,
सर्वे भद्राणि पश्यन्तु मा कश्चिद्दुःखमाप्नुयात् ।।"

PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF SANSKRIT WORKS INCLUDING SOME NEW TEXTS FOUND IN HYDERABAD

S. M. Fazullah
Madras

In this paper an attempt is made to present a biobibliographical survey of the Persian translations of Sanskrit works produced during the classical period of Indo-Persian literature. This is based on the printed catalogues of Persian manuscripts preserved in the famous libraries and repositories of the world. I am able to trace with reference to some of them so far about 36 definitive Sanskrit works from the earliest times to the early 19th century, most of them rendered into Persian directly and some of them indirectly through Hindī. Here I may add that generally the term "Hindī" means the language of India (eastern or western) *and in specified instances it is none other than Skt.*

They represent famous Skt. works most of which, if not all of them, are subjects of serious study and investigation and their recondite texts are being edited and re-edited critically even to this day throughout the world.

Now a word about the translations in the Persian language. They are written in Persian according to the mentality of the Muslims. In the case of highly religious and especially esoteric books there is recourse to high Sufi style. If the Hindu proper names are removed it is like any other Persian book. Translations are not literal. The spirit of the original is, however, conveyed.

Here are listed the Persian translations of Sanskrit works for detailed discussion :—

1. Mahābhārata, 2. Rāmāyaṇa, 3. Bhāgavata Purāṇa, 4. Bhagavadgītā, 5. Bhagavad Gītā with commentary Subodhinī,

6. Viṣṇu Purāṇa, 7. Hitopadeśa, 8. Siṁhāsanadvātriṁśati (Singhāsan Battisi), 9. Romance of Kāmrūp and Kāmlatā, 10. Vedāntasāra, 11. Yogavāsiṣṭha, 12. Upaniṣads, 13. Harivaṁśa, 14. Amarakuṇḍa, 15. Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa (Banaras), 16. Bṛhatsaṃhītā of Varāhamihira (Astronomy), 17. Kāśīkuṇḍa (Khaṇḍa) from Skanda Purāṇa (on Banaras), 18. Kathā-sarit-sāgara of Somadeva (collection of stories), 19. Koka śāstra (sexual Science), 20. Līlāvatī of Bhāskara Ācārya (Maths), 21. Rājataraṅgiṇī (Hist. of Kashmir), 22. Pārijātaka (Music), 23. Prabodhacandrodaya (Drama), 24. Purāṇārthaprakāśa (Chronology & cosmogony), 25. Śālihotra (Veterinary Science), 26. Śivapurāṇa (Banaras), 27. Vāyupurāṇa (portion on Gaya), 28. Bījagaṇita (Algebra & Mensuration), 29. Nala and Damayantī (Romance), 30. Baital Pacchisi (Vetālapañcaviṁśatī), 31. Tutināmā (Parrot tales), 32. Anwari Suhaili (Kalila wa Dimna), 33. Iyari Danish (Tales), 34. Rasalai Shatranj (Caturang) (Chess).

Here are the new texts found in Hyderabad :—

1. Chandralekhā (Drama), 2. Rājā Bhoja (Tales), 3. Chitramull-Abwabiul Marifat (Esoterism), 4. Sharh Pim Kahani (Romance), 5. Pothi Rāmāyaṇa, 6. Ram Chander Gosaín (Esoterism), 7. Tarjumai Jog Bashist (Yogavāsiṣṭha) (Esoterısm).

PREFACE TO THE "*RĀMĀYAṆA*"

(IN PERSIAN VERSE)

COMPOSED BY MASĪḤ

PROF. DR. BHAGAVAD DAYAL-VERMA
M.A. PH.D. Poona-4

In this article extracts have been given from the Ms. of Dībācāé Rāmāyṇa or "Preface to the *Rāmāyaṇa*" which was composed by Masīḥ, a great poet of his time. He had composed complete story of "Rāmāyaṇa" in verse and this is a preface to it.

On p-1, the copyist had written Dībācāé Rāmāyaṇa man taṣnīf-e-Faizī Preface to the "*Rāmāyaṇa*" written by Faizī, and so I was misled and I wrote in its "Summary" that the composer was Faizī, the poet-laureate of the emperor Akbar the Great.

When I read the Ms. carefully I found the following two verses in it, which clearly say that the *nom-de-plume* of the poet was Masīḥ :

C-165
and C-245

مسیح از خام طبعی لب به بستی
ادب باید درین جا گرچه مستی
مسیحا در دو عالم بنده تست
هم از شرمندگی شرمنده تست

These lines prove that the composer was Masīḥ and not Faizī. The learned readers will be amused to read this and will take a lesson that they should not believe easily what is written on the first page of a Ms., and that they should try to read whole of the Ms. and then decide about the name of the writer.

Masīḥ had designed the story of the "*Rāmāyaṇa*" in the form of a *Mathnawī*, which is a type of Persian poetry. Accordingly he has followed the traditional method of writing a *Mathnawī*.

I have given some extracts from the Ms. in the following pages, and have put the suggestive headings in English.

The whole Ms. contains 346 lines and I have given some specimens of the topics.

The learned readers will be able to form some idea of Masīḥ's "Rāmāyaṇa", which is not easily available in most of the places.

دیباچه رامایین از مسیح

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم

Prayer

۱- ندانم چون کشم رطلِ گران مست،
گز آبِ دست ساقی رفتم از دست.

۲- گلِ داغم بخندان از لبِ باغ،
نشان ز الماسِ شبنم برگلم داغ.

۳- کرامت کن دل پروردۀ درد
بخونِ دل نگار این چهرۀ زرد

۴- جگر کن چاک از خنجرِ ناز
نمک را مرهم ریشِ دلم ساز

۵- به تیغِ عشق رنگین کن کفن را
زیارت کن شهید خویشتن را

۶۔ شہید تو نخواہد شمع از کس،
تو شمع تربت من باش این بس۔

۷۔ مرا ہم شمع از نور تو باید،
تجلی ختم بر موسیٰ نشاید۔

۸۔ انا الحق گفتنم بر تو چہ بار است،
دو منصور یم گویا قحط دار است۔

۹۔ خلافت دادی آدم را بعالم
بمن دہ حصّہ را میراث آدم

۱۰۔ ببخشا بر ظلم کز تخم حزین است
خداوندا خداوندی ہمین است

۱۱۔ ببخشایش حکن ممنون رحمت،
ز دریا آب می بخشی چہ منّت۔

۱۲۔ گناہم گرچہ عین بے رضائیست
گذشت از وی چہ نقصان خدائیست

۱۳۔ بجز لطف تو موری جم نگردد،
خدائی ہم بلطفی کم نگردد

۱۴۔ ضعیفم خواندی از غفلت شکایت
چو کج دار و مریز است این حکایت

Praise of the Prophet.

۱۶۶ خدا نعتِ محمد داند و بس
نیاید کارِ یزدان از دگر کس
۱۶۷ اشبی سرمایۂ اقبال جاوید
زنورش جرعۂ در جام خورشید
۱۶۸ نهفته گنج اسرار الهی
چو آب زندگانی در سیاهی
۱۶۹ سوادش صیقلِ نور تجلّی
چو روز وصل سرتاپا تسلّی
۱۷۰ وفا را از هوایش گرم بازار
در و معشوق عاشق را خریدار
۱۷۱ بنور حق منور چشم مهتاب
زکوثر خلد را رضوان زده آب
۱۷۲ در رحمت کشاده خازن غیب
کرم خامه زده بر نامۂ عیب
۱۷۳ بصلح آسوده باهم آتش و آب
قصب شسته زخاطر سهم مهتاب
۱۷۴ قضا جام عنایت کرده در دست
زمین و آسمان از بوی آن مست

۱۰۵ چو شد آرائش خلوت کماهی
درآمد نامه بر مرغ الهی

Praise of the King.

۲۵۰ جهان نو زنده گشت از حسن تدبیر
بعدل شاه نورالدین جهانگیر
۲۵۱ شه صاحب قران و صاحب اقبال
جوان بخت و جوان مرد و جوان سال
۲۵۲ بخدمت دست بسته چشم امید
صد افسر بهمن و صد تخت جمشید
۲۵۳ بجامی دولت جمشید بخشد
بذره منصب خورشید بخشد
۲۵۴ بدورش کس نزد تدانی بجز راز
نه در عهدش کسی را اشک غماز

Praise of Indian Women.

۳۲۱ زمین هند گلگشت معانی
سوادش رشک آب زندگانی
۳۲۲ زمین عشق است هندوستان زمین را
که عشق آنجاست مذهب کفر و دین را

۳۲۳ گلستانِ گُل جاوید عشق است
کہ صاحب طالعش خورشید عشق است
۳۲۴ محبت آفتابِ بُرجِ شیر است
ہنوزش ہم ازین رو گرم سیر است
۳۲۵ بہشتی کشوری از جان سرشتہ
درو حسنِ وفا خوردہ فرشتہ
۳۲۶ محبت را برضوان در نشاندہ
بدان سویش بدربانی نماندہ
۳۲۷ خس و خاشاکِ او از عشق مست است،
در و دیوار او عاشق پرست است۔
۳۲۸ نروید زین زمین برگ گیاہی،
کہ نبود میلِ او با کہربائی۔
۳۲۹ اثر بین کز جما داشت آہن
بجذب سنگ خون در مید ہد تن
۳۳۰ بہفت اقلیم از عشاق دل ریش
نمیرد کس بمرگِ دلبر خویش
۳۳۱ ندارد ہیچ کس بیش از دو کس یاد
کہ کس جان داد جُز مجنون و فرہاد

۳۳۲. درین کشور عروسِ نارسیده،
زجفتِ خود ہمین نامی شنیده.

۳۳۳ بمرگش لب نجنباند سخن را،
نسازد تا نسوزد خویشتن را.

۳۳۴ زن است و میکند کارِ جوانمرد،
کزو ہنگامۂ پروانہ شد سرد.

۳۳۵ ہمہ دن عاشقان بے اختیارند،
ولی معشوق اینجا جان سپارند.

۳۳۶ چو سوزد انگبین در آتش موم
کجا باشد شمار سوزش موم.

۳۳۷ نمی بینی بسی ہندو نژادان
کہ خود را بر صنم سازند قربان

۳۳۸ رواج عشق کفر خود فزایند،
بجان دادن جوانمردی نمایند.

۳۳۹ بنام حق کسی کم زر فشاند،
خوش ہمت آنکہ بر بت سر فشاند.

۳۴۰ درین صحرا بسی مُرغ اند آزاد،
کزایشان چون یکی شد صید صیّاد.

۳۴۱ بہ نزد جُفت افتد بر کند دل،
شود خود نیز تا با جُفت بسمل

۳۴۲ باب عشق خاک ہند تر شد ،
چه آدم بلکه بر مرغان اثر شد۔
۳۴۳ به بین چاتک بعشق آبِ باران ،
ننوشد گرچه باشد آبِ حیوان۔
۳۴۴ وفا قربانِ این آب و ہوا شد ،
که مرغ این چمن ماہی وفا شد۔
۳۴۵ مرا باید ز ہندستان سخن گفت ،
که با عشق است خاک این زمین جُفت۔
۳۴۶ ازان گفتم حدیثِ رام و سیتا ،
که این افسانه تاریخ است اینجا۔

GLIMPSES OF SOME MSS. OF PERSIAN *"GĪTĀ"*

PROF. DR. BHAGAVAD-DAYAL VERMA,
M.A., Ph.D.,
Poona-4

In this article I have tried to give the "Glimpses" of the following Mss. of Persian "*Gīta*" :—

(1) Persian "*Gītā*" Ms. (in prose)
belonging to Br. M. Library.

(2) Persian "*Gītā*" Ms. (in prose)
belonging to King's College, Cambridge.

(3) Persian "*Gītā*" Ms. (in prose)
belonging to Oxford Library.

(4) Persian "*Gītā*" Ms. (in prose)
belonging to the late Prof. Mahesh Prasad, Professor of Arabic and Persian, in the Banaras Hindu University, Vārāṇasī.

(5) Persian "*Gītā*" Ms. (in verse)
belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

I have got the photo-stat copies of some Mss.

Beginning of Persian *Gītā* Ms. belonging to British Museum Library.

سری گنیش آینمہ

سری کرشن آینمہ

گیتا بزبان فارسی تصنیف شیخ ابوالفضل علامی

از کتاب مهابهارته از فن ششم که آنرا بهیکم پرب
گویند۔ سری کرشن جیو و ارجن سنباد۔ دهرت راشٹر
گفت که کورکهیت که مزرعۂ نیکوکاریست مردم من و
جماعت پاندوان هنگامی که بقصد کارزار روبرو شدند
بچه کار مشغول گشتند۔

End of Persian *Gītā* Ms. belonging to British Museum Library.

Sañjaya said that words wonderful Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū
संजय गुफ़्त कि सुख़ुनाने अजीब श्री कृष्ण ज्यू

the great and Arjuna that from it hair on body I made part
बुज़ुर्ग व अर्जुन कि अज़ां मूये बर तन जुज़्वे द्ू

of two ears and from the kindness of Vyās these words of
गूश कर्दभ व अज़ तवज्जुहे ब्यास ईं सुख़ुनाने

secrecy from tongue of Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū I heard and by
सिर्रं अज़ ज़बाने श्री कृष्ण ज्यू शुनीदम व अज़

learning this conversation wonderful which between
इस्तिहज़ारे ईं गुफ़्तारे ग़रीब कि दरमियाने

Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū and Arjuna was mentioned happy I became
श्री कृष्ण ज्यू व अर्जुन मज़कूर शुद शाद मी शनम ।

O great Rājā, whenever I the form of Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū
अय राजए बुज़ुर्ग हरगाह मन सूरते श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू

meditate upon in the whirl pool of amazement
रा तसव्वुर मी कुनम दर गिर्दाबि हैरत

I am involved and my heart distracted becomes
फ़िरो मी रवम व दिले मन परीशान मी गर्दद

and in my belief is that wherever Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū
ब अक़ीदए मन अस्त कि हरजा कि श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू

King of Jogis, and Arjuna bowman will be
बादशाहे जोग, व अर्जुन कमानदार ख़्वाहद बूद

world and victory and sovereignity eternal and
दुनया व ज़फ़र व हुकूमते जावीद व

equity in that place will be.
अद्‌ल आंजा ख़्वाहद बूद ।

Béshamapāyana said that the *Gītā* in the best way
वेषमपायन गुफ़्त कि गीता बरजवहे अहसन

should be recited and for you about knowing Sciences
मी बायद सराईद, व तुरा अज़ दानिस्तने उलूमे

other with commentary and explanation what need is
दीगर बा शरह व बिस्त चि दरकार अस्त

because this Gītā from mouth of lotus of Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū
कि ईं गीता अज दहने नीलोफ़रे श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू

has come out and the sum and substance of all kinds
बरामदे अस्त, व माहसले जमीअ़ अक़्सामे

of sciences in it written is and the meaning of all Vedas
उलूम. दरां मुन्दर्ज अस्त, व मफ़हूमे जुम्ले बेदहा

are in Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū and all pilgrimages in
दरज़ाते श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू, व हमे तीर्थहा दर

river Ganges and all groups of Devatās in the self
दरियाए गंग व तवायफ़े देवता दर जाते

of Hari contained are and the word tīrthas consists in
हरि दाखिल अन्द। व तीर्थ इबारत अस्त

the water that the Hindus with the intention of Heaven
अज़ आबी कि हिन्दुआन ब क़स्दे स्वर्ग

in it enter and the man in whose heart
दरां दर मी आयन्द। व शख़्सी कि दर दिलेऊ

the Gītā and the Gangā and the Gāyatrī present are he
गीता व गंगा व गायत्री हाज़िर बाशद, ऊ

second time in world of existence does not come
बारे दीगर ब आलमे वुजूद नयायद ॥

May it be auspicious for you, that is, may it be good to you, ended the book
शुभमस्तु, य अनी ख़ैर बाद तुरा। बख़त्म रसीद

(*pothī*) of Srīmadbhagavadgītā in Persian language which
पोथी श्रीमद्भगवत्गीता बज़बाने फ़ार्सी कि

translated by Abul Fazel 'Allāmi is, on date
तर्जुमए शेख़ अबुलफ़ज़्ले अल्लामी अस्त । ब तारीखे

8th month of Jumādī'l Avval, year (1179), one thousand
हश्तुम, शहरे जुमादिल अव्वल, सने यक हज़ार व

one hundred and seventy nine A.H. agreeing with Hindi
यक सद व हफ़्ताद व नुह हिजरी, मुआफ़िके हिन्दी

11th, Deva uṭhān, month of Kārtika, Saṁvat 1822,
एकादशी देव उठान, माह कार्तिक, सम्वत १८२२,

one thousand
यक हज़ार

and eight hundred and twenty two in the **handwriting of**
व हश्त सद व बीस्तबदू, **बखते**

Hari (?) Gobindrai,
हरी (?) गोबिन्दराय ॥

This is the end of the Gītā.

Beginning of the Ms. of Persian *Gītā*, belonging to the King's College, Cambridge ; Or. No. 14 (4).

سریکرشن جیوست
نسخه ارجن گیتا
سریکرشن سہائے

این نسخه گیتاکه در انکشاف سرایر قدرت ذوالجلال واستکشاف
حقیقت معرفت لایزال است آنرا باجازت سلطانِ عادل
وبرهان کامل دلیل قاطع خدادانی وحجت ساطع رحمت
رحمانی قافله سالار براه حقیقی ومجازی جلال الدین اکبر

شاه غازی خلد الله ملکه و سبحانه بنده شیخ ابو الفضل
از زبان سهنس کرت ترجمه لعبادت لسان فرس و
عرب در آورده و آنچنان است که ابتدائی معرکه مها
بهارته سریکرشن جیو بارجن تلقین ساخته ترغیب
بر آهنگِ جنگ نمودند ....

onuapd l

End of the Ms. of Persian *Gītā*, belonging to the King's College Cambridge : Or. No. 14 (4).

शख़्सी कि दर दिलेऊ	That person in whose.
गीता व गंग व गायत्री	heart Gītā, and Gangā and Gāyatrī
व गोबिंद हाज़िर बाशद	and Govinda remain present
ऊबारे दीगर ब वुजूद	he does not come into
न मी आयद मजमू अ	existence second time.
अश्लोक गीता हफ़्त	The total of the *Ślokas*
सदू चहू लू पंज अस्त,	of Gītā is 745 out of
अज़ां जुम्ले शशसद	which 620 Ślokas are from
बीस्त अश्लोक अज़	
श्रीकृष्णज्यू व पंजाहू हफ़्त	Shri Kṛṣṇajyū and 57
अज़ अर्जुन व शस्त हफ़्त	from Arjuna and 67 from
अज़ संजय व यक अश्लोक	Sanjaya and one Śloka
अज़ धृतराष्ट्र, व श्री-	from Dhritarāṣtra and Shri
कृष्ण ज्यू दरिया ए महा-	Kṛṣṇajyū churned the ocean
भारथ रा वरहम जदे	of Mahābhārata, brought
आबे हयात बर आवुर्दे	out the water of
दर कामे हलक़े अर्जुन रीख़्त	life and poured it into the palate of Arjuna.
ब कृपा श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू.	Through the grace of Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū.

(तम्म) (Ended)

Beginning of Persian-*Gītā* Ms., belonging to Oxford Library.

نرنجن دیوانتر جامی

چون ادای شکر نعمتِ حضرت الوہیت و اظہارِ
مدارج و مناقبِ خاصانِ بارگاهِ صمدیت از اندازهٔ
زبانِ ناقص بیان بیرون و افزون ست واگذاشته
بمطلب گراید۔
دہر تراست بپرسید که ای سنجی، درزمین کرکہت که
مزرعهٔ نیکو کاریست مردم من و جماعهٔ پاندوان ہنگامی
که قصد کارزار روبرو شدند.....

End of Persian *Gītā* Ms. belonging to Oxford Library.

अय अर्जुन, आयातू ईं	O Arjuna, have you
सुख़ुनाने मरा बगूश न	not heard these discourses of mine with
शुनीदी व बीदानिशीये तू	thy ear, and is thy ignorance
बरतरफ़ न शुदे ?	not removed ?
अर्जुन गुफ़्त कि मन अज़ दायरये	Arjuna said "I have come out of the circle
जह्‌ल बर आमदम व आँचि	of ignorance and
शुनीदे बूदम अज़ इल्तिफ़ाते	what I heard, I have learnt by heart by your kindness,
तू याद गिरिफ़्ते व हर्फ़े शक	and the letter of doubt has been
अज़ सफ़ हए दिले मन	erased off the page of my heart,
तराशीदे शुदे व बदांचि अम्र	and I will abide by what
कर्दी क़याम ख़्वाहम नमूद.	you have ordered me.

Beginning of the Ms. of Persian "*Gītā*", belonging to the Late Prof. Mahesh Pd. of B. H. University.

سری کشن جیو گیت

دہرتراشتر گفت کہ ای سنجی درزمین کورکھیت کہ
مزرعہ نیکوکاریست مردم من وجماعت پانڈوان
ہنگامی کہ بقصدِ کارزار روبرو شدند بچہ کار مشغول
گشتند۔ شلوک
سنجی گفت کہ درجودہن فوج پانڈوان را در
میدانِ جنگ استادہ دید نزد دروناچارج آمد
وگفت

End of the Ms. of Persian *Gītā*, belonging to the Late Prof. Mahesh Pd. of B H. University, Vārāṇasī.

व अक़ीदए मन आनस्त कि	And I believe that
हरजा कृष्ण साहेबे जोग व	wherever Kṛṣṇa, Lord of Jog and
अर्जुन कमानदार ख़्वाहद बूद दुनिया	Arjuna, the Commander will be the world
व ज़फ़र व हुकूमते जावीद व अद्ल	and victory and permanent sovereignity and equity
आंजा ख़्वाहद बूद.	will be in that place.
अध्याय हज़्दहुम, मोख संन्यास योग नाम तमामशुद	Adhyāya 18th Mokh Sanyāsa yoga, ended. vedas :

Chaupā'ī

अपने हाथ लिखी मैं गीता	I wrote Gita in my own hand-writing,
बिन प्रभु और न देखो मीता ।।	Except God don't think others as your friend.
किरपा किनी कृष्ण मुरारी	Krishna Murari showed His grace to me,
जन्म जन्म के मैल उतारी ।।	He washed off the pollutions of many births.
दर्शन दो जादोपति आन	O Jadupati, come and give me your darshana,
अपने जी का राखो मान ।।	Give honour to your slave.
चौरासी के अब काटो फंद	Cut asunder the bonds of 840 cycle,
प्यारे के मन होवे अनंद ।।	Give peace to the heart of Pyārē.

दोहरा	*Dohra.* (A type of Hindi verse)
नित निरंजन राम तूं	Thou art eternal omnipresent ever-living
आदि पुरुष भगवान् ।	Bhagavān
यह (?) प्यारे की बीनती	This (?) is the prayer of Pyārē,
मोहि दरसदेहु आन ।।	Please come and give me your *darṣhana.*

——

ब तारी खे हज्ह दहुम, माहे बैसाख	On the date 18th of the month of Baishakh
वदी छट, सम्मत १८२६ रोज़े चहार-	Vadi 6, Sammat 1826 day Wednesday,
शम्बा, बवक़्ते दोपहर, दर हवेली	at the time of noon in the haveli
लाला रामजीमल ज्यू दर क़स्बा	of Lālā Rāmajīmal jyū in the town
जम्मूं, अज़ पोथी किरपाराम	of Jammūn, from the *pothi* of Kirparam
दारोगा बदस्तख़ते बन्दा	*Darogha,* in my own hand writing
दरगाह प्रधान सिंघ कोहले	Pradhān Singh Kohlai,
किदर शअरे हिंदी तख़ल्लुस	who in Hindi poems has his *nom-*
इस्म प्यारा दारद तहरीर याफ़्त.	*de plume* as 'Pyārā' it was copied.

Beginning of Persian *Gītā* (in verse) Ms. belonging to the Royal Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

بھگوت گیتا - ادھیائے اول

۱- طرازندهٔ داستان کهن
بدنیسان بفگند طرح سخن

۲- که پرسید دہرت راشٹ از سنجی این
که کرکھیت رشک بهشت برین

۳- بود مزرعهٔ آخرت در جهان
در آنجا رسیدند چون کوروان

۴- دگر پانڈوان از پی کارزار
چنان است این قصه، اے هوشیار

۵- جوابش چنین گفت کای پادشاه
به بستند از هر دو سو صف سپاه

۶- چو فرزند تو فوج دشمن بدید
بنزدِ درونه اچارج رسید

۷- بگفتش برین لشکرِ پانڈوان
نظر کن که ترتیب دارد چنان

۸- ز رشٹد دمن هست سالارِ فوج
جگر دارِیش رونقِ کارِ فوج

۹- بلے ہمچو بھیمے بہ پہلوے او
دگر نکل و سہدیو بازوے او

۱۰- دگر ارجن است آنچنان پہلوان
کہ لرزد ز خوفش بخود آسمان

۱۱- سر جاودان سا ینک نامدار
قوی پنجہ ویراٹ دشمن شکار

۱۲- دگر راجہ جگدان بفوج گران
مہیاے کین ہمچو شیر ژیان

۱۳- دروپد پلِ عرصۂ رزمگاہ
کند گردِ فوجش جہان را سیاہ

۱۴- رئیسِ رئیسان دگر کاش راج
شہان را اود جشم اکلیل و تاج

۱۵- دگر کنت بھوج و دگر شیو یار
دگر ابھمن مردِ میدان کار

۱۶- بصد زور و طاقت دگر پرجت است
بدلہاے شیران از و ہیبت است

۱۷- جہان پہلوان اتموجا دلیر
دگر دہرشٹ کیت است مانند شیر

۱۸ دگر پنج فرزند این پانڈوان
کہ از دروپدی ہست میلادِ شان

۱۹۔ چہار تہی ہستند در کارزار
شود ہر کسی روکشِ دہ ہزار

۲۰۔ کسانیکہ یارانِ کارِ من اند
بروزِ وغا دستیار من اند

۲۱۔ شمائیہ و بہیشم عدیم المثال
دگر کرپ استاد کارِ قتال

۲۲۔ قوی بازوئے من ز فرزندِ تست
دگر کرن غمخوار مانندِ تست

۲۳۔ دگر سوم دت ہست و ہم وکرن
دگر پہلوانان و خویشانِ من

۲۴۔ کہ اینہا مراعاتِ من کردہ اند
پئے من بلا را وطن کردہ اند

۲۵۔ سپاہ آن طرف گرچہ کمتر بود
ولے ہر دلیرے چو اژدر بود

۲۶۔ بظاہر بود فوج من بے شمار
چہ حاصل کہ بہیشم بمن نیست یار

۲۷۔ گرفتم کہ با دشمنان جنگ کرد
بجود کار از شرم من تنگ کرد

۲۸- مُراعاتِ دشمن چو منظورِ اوست
کند صرف آن ہرچہ مقدورِ اوست

۲۹- خوش است ار دل او بدست آورید
کہ برفوج اعدا شکست آورید

۳۰- چو این گفتگو تا بہ بہیشم رسید
بہ پیچید و خود را بمیدان کشید

۳۱- چنان مہرۂ خویشتن را نواخت
کز آوازۂ او شیر نر آب باخت۔

"PERSIAN TRANSLATION OF THE *GĪTĀSĀRA*"

PROF. DR. BHAGAVAD DAYAL VERMA,
Poona-4

This paper is based on the Ms. of "Persian Translation of the *GĪTĀSĀRA*", which is preserved in the Br. M. Library. Its number is Add. 7676, P. 26782.

The language is chaste Persian and the translator's name is given in the "Persian *GĪTĀ*" as "Shaikh Abu'l Fazl Allāmī", who was the Prime Minister of Akbar the Great, and was a famous Persian writer of his time. This Ms. is an appendix of the above-mentioned "Persian *Gītā*". This is in fact the 19th *Adhyāya* of his Persian *Gītā*".

The style of writing is *Shikesta i.e.* broken, in other words, a fast running hand, in which the dots are not put on the proper letters which are generally joined together and so some words are difficult to decipher. Moreover, instead of two *markaz* of the letter *qāf* only are *markaz* is used.

The importance of this Ms. lies in this that it forms an integral part of that "Persian *Gītā*" to which it is appended, and which is translated by Abu'l Fazl and bears the same numbers of the Br. M. Library.

The traditional clue runs as follows :—

"षट् शतानि सविंशानि श्लोकानां प्राह केशवः ।
अर्जुनः सप्तपञ्चाशत् सप्तषष्टिं तु सञ्जयः ॥४॥
धृतराष्ट्रः श्लोकमेकं गीताया मानमुच्यते ॥"

—*Mahābhārata*, *Bhīṣma-parvan*, *Adhyāya* 43

"Keśava has spoken 620 *ślokas*, Arjuna 57, Sañjaya 67, and Dhṛtarāṣṭra 1 *śloka*. (This) is said (to be) the computation of the *Gītā*."

If we add the speeches given in this *Gītāsāra* to those speeches which have been given in the 18 *adhyāyas* of the "Persian *Gītā*" we get the traditional figure of 745 speeches.

Although Blochmann, in his translation of the "*Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*" (pp. 104 ff.) and Badāyūni in his "*Muntakhab-al-Tawārīkh*", Vol. II, (pp. 401 ff.) have not mentioned that the *Gītā* was translated into Persian by Abu'l Fazl, on the strength of the literary evidence of their Mss it would be correct to conclude that Abu'l Fazl translated the *Gītā* and the *Gītāsāra* into Persian.

As the name "*Gītāsāra*" of this Ms. signifies it gives the quintessence of the *Gītā*, the Divine Song.

TRANSCRIPTION
of the "*GĪTĀSĀRA*"

آغاز پوتھی "گیتاسار"

بزبانِ فارسی

اون پرماتمنی نمہ

(اوم پرماتمنے نمہ)

ارجن گفت کہ ای سریکرشن جیو عزمِ شنیدنِ اوصاف کلمہ اون (اوم) وصورت و مقام آن دارم. سریکرشن جیو فرمودند کہ اے دراز دست چون از من می پرسی مفصل بیان می کنم بشنو. اون (اوم) کلمہ ایست کہ زمین و آتش ورگ بید و بھولوک و برہما از حرفِ اول بوجود آمدہ. و انترچھہ لوک و ججر بید و باد و بشن از حرفِ دویم او ترکیب یافتہ. و خورشید و سام بید و سورلوک و مہادیو از حرفِ سیوم او بظہور آمدہ. حرف اول برنگِ

زرد است خاصیتِ رج گُن دارد۔ وحرف میانہ سفید است ، بوصف ست گُن موصوف است ؛ وحرفِ سیوم رنگ سیاہ۔ خاصیتِ نم گن دارد۔ ازیں سہ حرف کہ در ہندوی آکار و اُوکار و مکار اند کلمہ اون (اوم) پدید آمدہ حرف اَکار تاثیر آتش دارد۔ و تخم جملہ مخلوقات است کہ زوال نمی پذیرد۔ ویرا شکت گویند، وشکت چیز نیست کہ مقام بروزن برہم است ، ہمیشہ بنہادِ او اشتغال دارد۔ کلمہ اون (اوم) عینِ آفریدگار است کہ بیاد کردن باآفریدگار واصل گردد۔ و در جملہ دلہا معرفت از کلمہ اون (اوم) است و در جملہ اجسام بر ہما وغیرہ کلام از وست وخود باآنہا آمیزش ندارد کہ بیچون است ۔ واز کلمہ اون (اوم) پیدائش دیوتا و بید وجملہ مخلوقات وہرسہ عالم، حیوانات ، ونباتات وجمادات است۔ بنا بر آن ہمیشہ روز وشب دریاد او باید بود ، وبصورت آفریدگار تصور باید کرد کہ آفریدگار را بہ بندگی او راضی توان کرد۔

واز اسم گایتری پاکیزگی بدن است واز تکرار کلمہ اون (اوم) روشنائے بمثل برق بدل حاصل می شود۔ کلمہ اون (اوم) در ہر دلے موجود است ، ومراقبۂ او باآفریدگار واصل می سازد کہ در آتش تحمل دل را عود ساختہ ہیزم قناعت انداختہ حواس را دران بسوزد آنکس کنندۂ جگ است۔ (Fol. 53 B begins)

ویک حرف کلمۂ اون (اوم) سوزندۂ جملہ گناہ وبخشندۂ خلاصے بزرگ

است۔ و شخصے کہ یاد کنندۂ ہر سہ حرف باشد، مراتب او چہ
توان گفت۔ کلمۂ اول (اوم) بمثل آوازۂ جرس بزرگ از و
پدید می آید کہ اورا دریافت۔ آفریدگار است و بشن و برہما
و مہا دیو از وست۔ و دوم پایان بہ بالا بردن مراقبۂ برہما است
و در بینی نگاہداشتن مراقبۂ بشن، و فرو گذاشتن مراقبۂ مہا دیو
است۔ ارجن گفت، اے سری کرشن جیو، حروف تعلق بہ بید دارد
و بید را باواز ہوا یافتن آن آواز ہمن لیفرمایند۔ سری کرشن جیو فرمودند
کلمۂ اول (اوم) نہایت آواز ہوا است بیاد آوردہ و دم را ببالا بردہ،
دل درمیانِ ہر دو ابرو نگاہدارد تا آنکہ در مراقبہ آواز محو گردد۔ مقامی
کہ حواس را دران دخلے نیست داخل گشتہ در مراقبہ محو گردد و آن زمان
جملہ اعمال و طاعت کہ اسم و رسم است برطرف می شود۔ ای
ارجن، کلام غیب از امکان بیرون نیست و در ظلمتِ طبیعت چراغِ
معرفت آفریدگار است، و آن را صاحبِ دانش در جملہ جانداران
یکساں می بیند۔ و عقیدۂ من باوست، کلامی کہ در ہندوی سیدانا،
گویند در نہایت روشنائی است و در روشنائی دل شخص کہ
(از خود خلاصی یافتہ) Fol. 54 A begins در مراقبہ او محو گردد بمقام
آرام برسد و آفریدگار را باد زیر و بالا و میانہ ہر کہ اورا در ہر جا
اعتقاد کند از کمند جملہ قید یا نجات یابد، و ہر کہ جملہ کار ہا از
آفریدگار داند بکمند ثواب و گناہ گرفتار نشود ای در رسیخ (بی

ناف گل نیلوفری است، درازیِ او ده انگشت و نرم و رُخ او پایان وصورت بمثل غنچه کیله است، روشن، ہمچو ماه است و شگفته و زیبا، واندرونِ او رنگ طلائی گرم دارد۔

ارجن گفت، ای سری کرشن جیو، دانستن محال است۔ دیافتن نیلوفری که رُخ پایان دارد چگونه بسوے سینه برآید وراست گردد۔

سری کرشن جیو فرمودند اے ارجن نیلوفری که در ورزش و ذکرِ اون (اوم) رُخ بسوے بالا می شود و جلوه در سینه بظهور می آید و راست گردد و خود راحت میرساند، نیلوفری که ہشت برگ دارد در سینه جائے اوست و درو مقامِ جمله ذنوبها ست درمیان او خورشید، و در خورشید ماه، و در ماه آتش، و در آتش روشنی، و در روشنی تخت است بانواع لعل و یاقوت آراسته و بالای آن آفرید گار است، سری وتس علامتے است که در دستِ سعادت مندے (Fol. 54 B begins) می باشد در دست اوست و لعل بے بہا دربر دارد و چشم او چون نیلوفر لایزال است با خبر مہره و چکر و گرز و شمشیر و تیر و کمان مسلح است و بہئیت (؟) موصوف است، و حلقه در گوش دارد۔ از کرور آفتاب روشن تر، و از کرور ماہتاب سرد تر، و ہمیشه خوش حالی و لباس زر آراسته است۔ اے

ارجن، بعض رکھیشران در نیلوفرے کہ ہشت برگ دارد آفریدگار را در مراقبۂ مقدار انگشت نرمی بینند۔ در ست جگ برنگِ سفید، و در ترنیتا رنگِ سرخ و در دواپتر رنگِ زرد و در کلجوگ (کل جگ) sic رنگ کبود۔ پاک و تاریک و خالص ؛ ہیچون سست خرد و وہم را درو دخلے نیست، و آنکہ مقدارِ او کسے را معلوم نیست از وبرتر و اوصافِ خوبتر و چشم پاک است۔ ہرکہ او را بداند داننده آفریدگار است۔ ارجن گفت، اے سری کرشن جیو، ہرچہ غائب از نظر است۔ بران اعتبار و اعتقاد نمی گردد و آنچہ درظاہر نظر می آید فانی است و آفریدگار بے رنگ و لازوال ست، جوگیشران چگونہ در مراقبہ اقامت دارند۔

سری کرشن جیو فرمودند، اے ارجن، آفریدگار اندرون و بیرون و میانہ در ہمہ جا محیط است، شخصی کہ (Fol 55 A begins) از صحبتِ ہمہ خلق خود را جدا ساختہ او آفریدگار را در ذاتِ خود می بیند و از ورزشِ جوگ و دانشِ جوگیان اندرون و بیرون و میانہ و ہمہ جا آن را در باطنِ خود مشاہدہ می کند۔ چنانچہ گوزہائی (؟) پرآب جدا جدا است و آسمان در ہمہ جا پرتو می اندازد، ہمچنان آفریدگار در جملہ اجسام یکسان است۔ اے ارجن، ہمہ را ترک دادہ در یادِ او باش۔ چنانچہ آفریدگار در ذاتِ خود است تو او را در جملہ جانداران اعتقاد بکن۔ در مراقبہ نیلوفرِ سینہ کہ آفریدگار مثلِ چراغی ست روشن و مانند انگستِ نر دراز۔

ارجن گفت کہ اے سری کرشن جیو آنانکہ بمتعلقاتِ دنیا ملوث اند و جماعتی ازین معنی پاک اند آخر احوال آن چیست و بعضی بہ بندگی برہما قیام نمایند و قومی بخدمت مہادیو، وگروہی با حکم بید تعلق دارند، ازین طوایف کدام فاضل تراست۔

سری کرشن جیو فرمودند، اے ارجن کسانی کہ آفریدگار را در ذاتِ خود نشناختہ اند تو ایشان را از زمرۂ حیوانات خیال بکن، و آنانکہ در تیرتہہ و در جگ جانداری می کشند و بہ پرستشِ صورتِ سنگ و گل معتقد اند آن کسان نادانستہ تیرہ دل و نادان اند و شخصی کہ آفریدگار را در جملہ [(Fol. 55 B. begins)

but this folio is inserted through mistake, and so this sentence is continued on Folio 56A.]

جانداران یکسان دانستہ مستقیم الفعل اند و کسی کہ آفریدگار در ذاتِ خود نشناختہ حقیقتِ او آنست کہ طعام لذیذ در خانہ پختہ موجود باشد وگدائی بکند۔ ای ارجن، اربابِ ریاضت کہ از بہر نتیجۂ عمل بطوافِ تیرتہہ دل رامی دارند طوافِ مذکورِ ایشان محصول ندارد۔ ای ارجن چنانکہ در کنجد روغن و در شیر روغنِ زرد و در چوب آتش می باشد ہمچنان آفریدگار در جملہ اجسام و جانداران محیط است؛ و معرفتِ آفریدگار سوزندۂ جملہ ثواب و گناہان است۔

ای ارجن، هرکه در ورزش جوگ دو ساعت قیام می نماید
او از دریای گناهانِ پیدایش بگذرد۔

ای ارجن، چون تو یار و خدمتگارِ منی بنابران این سرّ عظیم راکه
گیتاسار نام دارد باتو گفته ام۔ و هرچه از خواندن و یادکردنِ
جملهٔ علوم حاصل می شود از تکرار این یک شلوک خواهی یافت، و از
کمندِ پیدائش و فنا رهائی یافته بمقامِ آرام خواهی رسید۔

Colophon

بروز اکادشی دیو اوٹهان کاتک سودی سمبت ۱۸۲۲
یک هزار و هشتصد و بیست و دو بروزِ پنجشنبه در بنارس،
بخطِ بنده گوبند رائے کایتهـ گوڑ، ساکن اله آباد۔ حسب
الفرمایش رائے صاحب و قبلهٔ فیاض زمان راو کشن سنگهـ صاحب

TRANSLITERATION

of the "GĪTĀSĀRA" in Devanāgarī script.

Beginning of the Manuscript of the *Gītā Sāra*

आग़ाज़े पोथी गीतासार

in the Persian language

बज़बाने फ़ार्सी

ओ३म् परमात्मने नमः

Arjuna said that O Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyu intention to hear
अर्जुन गुफ़्त कि अय श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू अज़्मे शुनीदने
the qualities of syllable Aum and form and place of it
औसाफ़े कलिमए ओ३म् व सूरत व मुक़ामे आं

I have (1) Śri Kṛṣṇa jyū said that O long-armed
दारम. श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू फर्मूदन्द कि अय दराज़-दस्त

since from me thou askest in detail I am describing,
चूं अज़ मन मी पुर्सी मुफ़स्सल बयान मी कुनम.

listen (2) Aum such word is that earth and
बिशनो. ओ३म् कलिमए ईस्त कि ज़मीन व

fire and Ṛgveda and the universe and Brahmā from letter
आतिश व ऋग्वेद व भूलोक व ब्रह्मा अज़ हर्फ़

first in existence came (3) and Inner world
अव्वल बवुजूद आमदे. व अंत्रच्छलोक

and Jajurveda and wind and Viṣṇu from letter
व जजुर्वेद व बाद व बिशुन अज़ हर्फ़

second of it are composed (4) and seen and
दो युमे ऊ तर्कीब या फ़ते व ख़ुर्शीद व

Sāmaveda and world of light (Svar-Loka) and Mahādeva
सामबेद व स्वर् लोक व महादेब

from letter third
अज़ हर्फ़े सियुमे

of it came into manifestation (5) the letter first of colour
ऊ ब ज़ुहुर आमद. हर्फ़े अव्वल बरंगे

yellow is, characteristic of *Raja-guṇa* has, and
ज़र्द अस्त, ख़ासीयते रज-गुण दारद. व

letter middle white is, with quality of *sat-guṇa*
हर्फ़े मियाने सफ़ीद अस्त, ब वस्फ़े सत-गुण

qualified is, and letter third colour black
मौसूफ़ अस्त, व हर्फ़े सियुम रंगे सिहाय,

Characteristics of *Tama-guna* has (6) from these three letters
ख़ासीयते तम-गुण दारद. अज़ीं सेह हर्फ़

which in Hinduvi *akāra* and *ukāra* and *makāra*
कि दर हिन्दुवी अकार व उकार व मकार

are, the syllable Aum into appearance came (6) the letter
अन्द कलिमएं ओ३म् पदीद आमदे. हर्फ़े

akāra effect of fire has and seed of all
अकार तासीरे आतिश दारद व तुख़्मे जुम्ले

the created beings is, which decline not accepts
मख़्लूक़ात अस्त, कि ज़वाल नमी पज़ीरद

It *Shakti* they call and *Shakti* such a thing is that
वय रा शक्ति गूयन्द व शक्ति चीज़ीस्त कि

place and window of Brahma is (8) always in nature
मुक़ाम व रौज़ने ब्रह्म अस्त हमीरो बनिहादे

of it flaming has. The syllable Aum the very creator himself
क इश्तिआल दारद. कलिमए ओ३म् ऐन आफ़रीदगार

is so that by reciting it (the reciter) in creator is
अस्त कि बयाद कर्दन ब आफ़रीदगार वासिल

merged, and in all hearts divine knowledge from
गर्दद व दर जुम्ले दिलहा मअ्‌रिफ़त अज़

the syllable Aum is in all bodies Brahmā
कलिमए ओ३म् अस्त व दर जुम्ले अजसाम ब्रह्मा

etc. speech is from it and itself with them taint
वग़ैरा कलाम अज़ूस्त, व ख़ुद ब आँहा आमीज़िश

has not, because it matchless is (12) and from the syllable
न दारद, कि बीचून अस्त. व अज़ कलिमए

Aum birth of Gods and Veda and all the creatures
ओ३म् पैदायशे देवता व बेद व जुम्ले मख़्लूक़ात

and all three words of animals and vegetables and
व हर सेह आलमे हैवानात व नबातात व

minerals is (13-14) on account of it always day and night
जिमादात अस्त. विनाबराँ हमीशे रूज़ुशब

in remembrance of it one should be, and the face of the Creator
दरयादे ऊ बायद बूदे, व बसूरते आफ़रीदगार

should be in meditation, because the creator by
तसव्वुर बायद कर्द कि आफ़रीदगार राब

obedience of His can be made and from the
बन्दगीये ऊ राज़ी तवाँ कर्दे व अज़ इस्मे

name of Gāyatrī purity of body is and by
गायत्री पाकीज़गीये बदन अस्त, व अज़

the repetition of the word Aum a light like the lighting
तकरारे कल्मए ओ३म् रोशनाईये व मिस्ले बर्क़

in the heart is acquired. The syllable Aum in every heart
ब दिल हासिल मीशवद, कल्मए ओ३म् दर हर दिली

is present and meditation of that with the creator
मौजूद अस्त व मुराक़िबए ऊ ब आफ़रीदगार

merged makes so that in the fire of.........heart
वासिल मी साज़दं, कि दर आतिशे *.........दिलरा

aloc wood is made the fuel of contentment having thrown
ऊद साख़ते, ही ज़मे क़नाअत अन्दाख़्ते

the senses in it are burnt that man the doer of
हवास रा दराँ बिसूज़द आँ कस कुनिन्दए

yajña (sacrifice) is and one letter of the word Aum burner of
जग अस्त. व यक हर्फ़े कलिमए ओ३म् सूज़न्दए

all the sin and giver of liberation great is,
जुम्ले गुनाह व बख़शन्दए ख़लासीये बुज़ुर्ग अस्त,

and the man who remember of all the three letters is
व शख़्सी कि याद कुनन्दए हर सेह हर्फ़ बाशद

his ranks what can be said. The word of Aum like
मरातिबेऊ चे तवाँ गुफ़्त, कलिमे ए ओ३म् ब मिस्ले

the sound of a big bell comes out of it because
आवाज़ए जरसे बुज़ुर्ग अज़ू पदीद मी आयद कि

it of the creator is and Viṣṇu and
ऊरां द.........आफ़रीदगार अस्त. व बिशनु व

Brahmā and mahādeva from Him are and the lower
ब्रह्मा व महादेव अज़ूस्त व दमे पायान

breath to be taken upwards is the meditation of Brahmā, and
ब बाला बुर्दन मुराक़िबए ब्रह्मा अस्त. व

in nose to fix the sight is the meditation of Viṣṇu
दर बीनी निगाह दाश्तन मुराक़िब ए बिशन,

and to throw it down the meditation of Mahādeva is
व फ़रू गुज़ाशतन, मुराक़िब ए महादेव अस्त.

Arjuna said : O Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū letters
अर्जुन गुफ़्त : अय श्रीकृष्णज्यू हुरूफ़

connection with Veda have and Veda with sound
त अल्लुक़ ब वेद दारद व वेा दर ब आवाज

air getting of that sound to me please tell
हवा याफ़्तने आँ आवाज ब मन बिफर्मायन्द.

Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū said : The word Aum extremity
श्रीकृष्णज्यू फर्मूवन्द, कलिमए "ओ३म्" निहायते

of the sound of air all should be brought in the breath to
आवाज़े हवास्त बबाद आवुर्दे व दम

upward
राबबाला

should be taken heart in the midst of both the eyebrows
बुर्दे दिल दरमियाने हरदू अब्रू निगाह
should be fixed
दारद

so that in the meditation of sound may be absorbed
ता आंकि दर मुराक़िबए आवाज़ मह्व गर्दद,

such a place that the senses cannot have any entrance there
मुकामी कि हवास रा दरा दख़्ली नास्त

he enters in meditation is absorbed and at
दाखिल गश्ते दर मुराकिबे महब गर्दद, व आं

that time all the actions and devotion which have
जमाने जुम्ले इअमाल व ताअत कि इस्मो

any name are set aside. O Arjun their
रस्मस्त बरतरफ शवदे ।। अय अर्जुन, कलामे

visible word from the possibility is outside and in
गैब अज़ इमकान बीरूनस्त, व दर

the darkness of temperament a lamp of knowledge of
ज़ुल्मते तबीअ़त चिराग़े मअरिफ़ते

creator is and that a wise man in
आफ़रीदगार अस्त, व आंरा साहिबे-दानिश दर

all animals same sees and my
जुम्लए जानदारान यकसाँ मी बीनद व अक़ीदए

belief with him is the word which in Hindi shabda
मन बऊस्त, कलामी कि दर हिन्दवी सब्द

Anāhad they say in extreme lightness is
अनाहद मीगुयन्द दर निहायते रोशनाई अस्त

and in light of the heart of that man who
व दर रोशनाइये दिले शख़्स कि

(Folio 54A begins)

from himself freedom has got in meditation of it
अज़ ख़ुद ख़लासी याफ़्ते दर मुराक़िबए अ

absorbed becomes to a place of rest reaches and
मह्‌व गर्दद, बमुक़ामे आराम बिरसद व

creator by the air of low and bright and middle
आफ़रीदगार राबयाद ज़ीर व बाला व मियाने

he who him in every place believes from the
हरकि ऊरा दर हरज्य इअ्तिक़ाद कुनद अज़

lasso of all fetters freedom gets and he who all
कमन्दे जुम्ले क़ैद निजात याबद व हर कि जुम्ले

works from creator thinks in the lesso of good
कारहा अज़ आफ़रीदगार दानद ब कमन्दे सवाब

and sin caught is not o
व गुनाह गिरिफ़्तार नशबद। अय

Navel of the flower of lotus is length of it
नाफ़े गुले नीलोफ़री अस्त, दराज़ीयेऊ

ten fingers and soft and face of it down and
दह अन्गुश्त व नर्म व रुख़े ऊ पायान व

its form like the bud of banana is bright like
सूरत ब मिस्ले गुन्चए केला अस्त रोशन हमचु

moon is and blossomed and beautiful and inside
माह अस्त व शिगुफ़्ते व ज़ीबा व अन्दरूने

it colour gold hot has.
ऊ रंगे तिलाई गर्म दारद।

Arjun said O Śrīkṛṣṇajyū knowing
अर्जुन गुफ़्त अय श्रीकृष्णज्यू दानिस्तन

difficult is and getting of the lotus which its face
मुहाल अस्त व याफ़्तने नीलोफ़री कि रुख़

down has how towards chest comes up and straight
पायान दारद चिगूने बसूये सीने बरायद व रास्त

becomes.
गर्दद ?

Śrīkṛṣṇajyu said O Arjuna that lotus
श्रीकृष्णज्यू फ़र्मूदन्द, अय अर्जुन, नीलोफ़री

which, in practice and remembrance of om its face towards
किदर वर्ज़िश व ज़िक्रे ॐ रुख़ बसूए

the height becomes and display in chest to manifestation
बाला मीशवद व जल्वे दर सीने बज़ुहुर मी

comes and straight becomes and itself happiness gives
आयद व रास्त गर्दद व ख़ुद राहत मी रसानद,

the lotus which eight petals has in chest its place
नीलोफ़री कि हश्तवर्ग दारद दर सीने जाए

is and in it place of all sins is in
अस्त व दरू मुक़ामे ज़ुल्मे ज़ुनूबहा अस्त दर

middle of it Sun and in Sun moon, and in moon
मियाने ऊ ख़ुर्शीद, व दर ख़ुर्शीद माह, व दर माह

fire and in fire light and in light throne
आतिश, व दर आतिश रोशनी, व दर रोशनी तख़्त

is with different kinds of rubies and gems decorated
अस्त, ब अन्वाअ़े लअ़्ल व याक़ूत आशस्ते,

and over it creator is. Śrī vatsa
व बालाए आँ आफ़रीदगार अस्त श्रीवत्स

sign is which in the hand of a fortunate man is
अ़लामती अस्त कि दर दस्ते सआदतमन्दी मी बाशद

in his hand is and a ruby
दर दस्त अस्त व लअ़्ल

priceless over body has, and his eye like lotus
बी बहा दर बर दारद, व चश्मे ऊ चू नीलो-

imperishable is. with Śankha and Cakra and
फ़रे लायज़ाल अस्त. बा ख़रमुहरे व चक्र व

mace and sword and arrow and bow armed
गुर्ज़ व शमशीर व तीर व कमान मुसल्लह

is and with qualified is and a ring in
अस्त व ब······ मौसूफ़ अस्त ब हल्क़ई दर

ear has, than one crore Suns brighter
गूश दारद, अज़करोर आफ़ताब रोशन [तर]

and than crore moons cooler and always
ब अज़ करोर माहताब सर्दतर व हमीशे

in cheerfulness and in dress of gold decorated is
ब ख़ुशहाली व लिबासे ज़र आरास्ते अस्त ।
O Arjun, some Ṛiṣis in the lotus
अय अर्जुन, बअज़ी रिखीशरान दर नीलोफ़री
which eight petals has. Creator in
कि हश्त बर्ग दारद. आफ़रीदगार रा दर
meditation equal to thumb see. in
मुराक़िबे मिकदारे अन्गुश्ते नर मी बीनन्द । दर
Sat-jug, in colour of white and in Tretā in colour of red
सतजुग, बरंगे सफ़ीद व दर त्रेता रंगे सुर्ख़
and in Dvāpara colour yellow and in Kal jug colour blue
व दर द्वापर रंगे ज़र्द व दर त्रेता रंगे कबूद
pious and dark and pure and matchless is
पाक व तारीक व ख़ालिस व बीचून अस्त ।
wisdom and fancy in it entrance have not and
ख़िरद व वह्‌म रा दरू दख़ली नीस्त व आं
that whose quantity anybody knows not than that
कि मिक़दारे ऊ कसी रा मअ़लूम नीस्त अज़ू
higher and attributes more beautiful and eye pure is
बरतर व औसाफ़े ख़ूबतर, व चश्मे पाक अस्त ।
He who it knows knower of creator is.
हर कि ऊरा बिदानद दानिन्दए आफ़रीदगार अस्त.

Arjun said : "O Śrī Kṛṣṇa that which invisible
अर्जुन गुफ़्त, अय श्रीकृष्णज्यू, हरचि ग़ायब
from eye is on that trust and faith
अज़ नज़र अस्त बरां इअ़तिबार व इअ़तिक़ाद
can't be had and that which in apparent is
नमी गर्दद, व आंचि दर ज़ाहिर नज़र मी
seen mortal is, and creator without colour and
आयद फ़ानी अस्त । व आफ़रीदगार बी रंग व
immortal is, jogīs how in meditation
लायज़ाल अस्त, जोगीशरान चिगूने दर मुराक़िबे
stay have ? Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū said, "O Arjun,
इक़ामत दारन्द ? श्रीकृष्णज्यू फ़र्मूदन्द, अय अर्जुन,
creator inside and outside and middle, in all
आफ़रीदगार अन्दरून व बीरून व मियाने, दर हमे

places surrounding is, that man who from the company
जा मुहीत अस्त, शख़्सी कि अज़ सुहबते

of all people himself separated makes he creator
हमे ख़ल्क़ ख़ुदरा जुदा साख़्ते ऊ आफ़रीदगार

in his own self sees and from practice of
रा दर ज़ाते ख़ुद मीबीनद व अज़ वर्ज़िशे

jog and wisdom of Jogis inside and outside and middle
जोग व दानिशे जोगियां अन्दरून व बीरून व मियाने

and all places him in heart of his own seeing
व हमे जा आंरा दर बातिने ख़ुद मुशाहिदे

he does just as on water separate
मी कुनद, चुनां चि······बर आब जुदा जुदा

is and sky in all places its reflection
अस्त व आस्मान दर हमे जा परतव मी

throws in the same way creator in all
अन्दाज़द, हमचुनां आफ़रीदगार दर जुम्ले

bodies same is O Arjuna all
अजसाम यकसां अस्त । अय अर्जुन हमेरा तर्क-

leaving in memory of his be because creator
दादे दर यादे ऊ बाश । चुनांचि आफ़रीदगार

in His own self is Thou him in all animals
दर ज़ाते ख़ुद अस्त तू ऊरा दर जुम्ले जानदारान

believe in meditate of lotus
इअ़्तिक़ाद बिकुन दर मुराक़िबए नीलोफ़र

Chest that creator like lamp is bright
सीने (?) कि आफ़रीदगार मिस्ले चिराग़ीस्त रोशन,

and like thumb long.
व मानिन्दे अन्गुश्ते नर दराज़ ।

Arjun said : "O Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū those who
अर्जुन गुफ्त कि अय श्रीकृष्णज्यू आनां कि

with the connections of world are polluted and
ब मुतअ़ल्लिक़ाते दुनिया मुलव्वस अन्द व

a party from this matter pure are after all
जमाअ़ती अज़ीं मअ़नी पाक अन्द आख़िर

condition their what is and some in devotion
अहवाले अाँ चीस्त ? व बअ़ज़ी व बन्दगीये

to Brahmā devote themselves and a party in service
ब्रह्मा क़याम मी नुमायन्द व क़ौमी व ख़िदमते

of Mahādeva and a group with order of Veda connection
महादेव व गिरोही ब अहकामे वेद तअ़ल्लुक़

have out of these parties which excellent is
दारन्द, अज़ीं तवायफ़ कुदाम फ़ाज़िलतेर अस्त ?

Śrī Kṛṣṇa jyū said : "O Arjuna those persons who
श्रीकृष्ण ज्यू फ़र्मूदन्द, अय अर्जुन कसानी कि

creator in their own self not realised have thou
आफ़रीदगार रा दर जाते ख़ुद न शिनाख़्ते अन्द तू

them from group of beasts think and
ईशां रा अज ज़ुमरए हैवानात ख़याल बिकुन व

those who in and in yajña animal
आनां कि दर तीर्थ व दर जग जानदारी मी

Kill and for worship of form stone and clay
कुशन्द व ब परसतिशे सूरते सन्ग व गिल

believer are those persons unwillingly
मुअ़तक़िद अन्द, आं कसान नादानिस्ते

black-hearted and ignorant are and the persons who
तीरे-दिल व नादान अन्द व शख़्सी कि

The Creator in all
आफ़रीदगार रा दर जुम्ले

The animals same knows
जानदारान यकसाँ दानिस्ते

straight in their actions are and
मुस्तक़ीमुल फ़अ़ल अन्द व

that person who the creator in
कसी कि आफ़रीदगार दर

his own self has not realised,
जाते ख़ुद न शिनाख़ते,

his reality is such that food
हक़ीक़ते ऊ आनस्त कि तआमे

delicious in the house cooked
लज़ीज़ दर खाने पुख़्ते

present is and begging does.
मौजूद बाशद व गदाई बिकुनद.

O Arjuna the possessers of austerity
अय अर्जुनं अर्बाबे रियाज़त

who from the point of the result of action
कि अज़ ममिरे नतीजए अमल

for perambulating the *tirtha* fix their hearts on,
बतवाफ़े तीर्थ दिल रा मी दारन्द,

the perambulating as mentioned above of theirs fruit
तवाफ़े मज़कूरे ईशाँ महसूल

does not have. O Arjuna,
न दारद. अय अर्जुन,

just as in oil seed there is oil and
चुनाँ कि दर कुंजद रोग़न व

in milk oil yellow (i.e. *ghee*)
दर शीर रोग़ने ज़र्द

and in wood fire is (concealed)
व दर चोब आतिश मी बाशद

in the same way the Creator in all
हमचुनाँ आफ़रीदगार दर जुम्ले

living beings pervading is. and the knowledge
जानदारान मुहीत अस्त, व मअरिफ़ते

of the Creator burner of all good actions
आफ़रीदगार सूज़न्दए जुम्ले सवाब

and sins is.
व गुनाहान अस्त.

O Arjuna everybody who in
अय अर्जुन हर कि दर

the practice of Joga (i. e. yoga) two hours
वरज़िशे जोग दू साइत

devotion makes, he from the ocean
क़याम मी नुमायद, ऊ अज़ दर्याए

of sins of being reborn innumerable
गुनाहाने पयदायिशे बीशुमार

times passes away. O Arjuna,
बिगुज़ारद अय अर्जुन,

because thou worshipper and friend
चूं तू ख़िदमतगार व यारे

of mine is, on account of that this
मनी, बिनाबरां ईं

secret great which *Gītāsāra*
सिर्रे अज़ीम कि "गीतासार"

name has to thee I have said,
नाम दारद बा तू गुफ़्ते अम,

and every thing which from reading and
व हरचि अज़ ख़्वांदन व

learning by heart all sciences
याद कर्दने जुम्ले उलूम

acquired is from repeating
हासिल मी शवद अज़ तक्रारे

this one Śloka thou will get.
ईं यक श्लोक ख़्वाही याफ़्त.

and from the lasso of rebirth
व अज़ कमन्दे पयदायिश

and annihilation release having
व फ़ना रिहाई याफ़्ते

achieved to the place of rest
ब मुक़ामे आराम

thou will reach.
ख़्वाही रसीद.

Colophon

On the day of Aikadashi (11th day)
ब रोज़े एकादशी.

waking of the gods, Kartik Śuddha,
देवउठान कातिक सुदी

Samvat 1822, one thousand and
सम्बत १८२२, यक हज़ार व

eight hundred, and twenty and two, on the day
हश्त सद व बीस्त व दू, ब रोज़े

of Thursday, in Banares,
पंज शंबा, दर बनारस

in the handwriting of Gobindrai Kayastha
व खत्ते गोबिन्दराय कायथ

gauda, resident of Allahabad, in accordance with
गोड साकिने इलाहाबाद, हस्बुल फ़रमायिशे

the suggestion of Rai Sahib and generous benefactor
राय साहिब व क़िबलए फ़ैयाज़े ज़माँ

Rao Kishan Sinha Sahib.
राव किशन सिंह साहिब

BRAHMAGUPTA, BALABHADRA, PṚTHŪDAKA, AND AL-BĪRŪNĪ

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It has long been recognized that al-Bīrūnī's knowledge of Sanskrit was not profound, howsoever valuable his numerous citations from various works of Sanskrit literature might be.[1] The extent of his reliance upon his paṇḍit-translator in his quotations from the lost eighth century *Pauliśasiddhānta* has recently been demonstrated[2]; in this paper I wish to investigate his references to the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* written by Brahmagupta at Bhillamāla in 628[3], and in particular to elucidate the relationship of these references to the lost commentary composed by Balabhadra, probably at Kānyakubja in the eighth century[4], and to the partially extant commentary composed by Pṛthūdakasvāmin at Kurukṣetra shortly before 864. Al-Bīrūnī first knew of Brahmagupta's work through its having been used by the unknown author of the *Mahāsiddhānta* (?) utilized between 771 and 790 by al-Fazārī[5] and Ya'qūb ibn Ṭāriq[6] in their Arabic works which form the basis of the *Sindhind* tradition; these were his only sources for his information when he composed his *On Transits*[7]. By 1030/31, when he was writing the *India*[8] and the *Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*,,[9] his paṇḍit had begun to translate the *Pauliśasiddhānta* and the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* with Balabhadra's commentary, though it is clear that of the latter he knew only a small part.[10] By the time al-Bīrūnī composed the *On Shadows*[11] he had read more of the *Pauliśasiddhānta*, and had access to Prthūdakasvāmin's commentary on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddānta*.[12] Aside from the references to Balabhadra in al-Bīrūnī's *India*, unfortunately, we know of this important author directly only from some ślokas cited from his commentary on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* by Utpala on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 2[13] and by Pṛthūdaka on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*[14]. And though al-Bīrūnī refers to several other works by Balabhadra. most of them seem very doubtful.

Once he speaks of "two famous *tantras* by Āryabhaṭa and Balabhadra".[15] But his ignorance of Āryabhaṭa's work is expressly confessed by him when he states that he knows him only through Brahmagupta's references.[16] In fact, as we shall see, al-Bīrūnī (who knew something of the Āryabhaṭan tradition already through the *zij al-Aryabhar* of ca. 800[17]) learned of the *Āryabhaṭīya* not only through Brahmagupta's criticisms, but more importantly through Balabhadra's numerous quotations, which are repeated by Pṛthūda-kasvāmin. Moreover, al-Bīrūnī had a copy of the *Āryabhaṭīya*, with a commentary, which he cites as the work of Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura, whom he mistakenly distinguishes from the "elder Āryabhaṭa".[18] Such confusion leads one to regard the assertion of the existence of a *tantra* of Balabhadra as mere rumour, emanating from the generally unreliable paṇḍit and unworthy of belief. Similarly one must doubt that Balabhadra ever commented on Varāhamihira's *Bṛhajjātaka*[19] as Utpala does not mention him in his *Jagaccandrikā*[20]. And al-Bīrūnī's inclusion of Balabhadra in the list of *saṃhitākāras*[21] may be due to a confusion with Bhadrabāhu whose well-known *saṃhitā* was written one or two centuries before al-Bīrūnī's life-time[23]. And al-Bīrūnī's conjecture that his *Khaṇḍak-hādyakaṭippā* is by Balabhadra,[22] though he considers it a fact towards the end of the *India*[24], must be questioned as Balabhadra is referred to by neither Pṛthūdakasvāmin[25] nor Utpala[26] in their commentaries on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. We are sure then of the authenticity only of Balabhadra's commentary on the *Brāhma-sphuṭasiddhānta*.

If we now turn to examine al-Bīrūnī's quotations from chapter 21 of the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, which was the first chapter in the recension of Balabhadra as is indicated by the table of contents given in the *India*[27] and which is also the first chapter in Pṛthūdaka-svāmin's version[28], we are immediately struck by four facts :

(a) the translation available to al-Bīrūnī seldom differentiates between the *mūla* and *ṭīkā* so that much of the material in the commentary is ascribed to Brahmagupta;[29]

(b) the explanations and quotations which al-Bīrūnī's paṇḍit found in the commentary of Balabhadra we still find in our manuscripts of Pṛthūdakasvāmin, much of whose *Vāsanābhāṣya*, then, must have been derived from Balabhadra.[30]

(c) all of al-Bīrūnī's citations from the earlier Indian astro-nomers Āryabhaṭa (save for some passages[31]), Lāṭadeva[32] Viṣṇu-candra's *Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta*[33], and Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā*[34] are taken from Balabhadra's commentary. Some of the same verses

are cited by Utpala in his commentary on chapter 2 of the *Bṛhat-saṃhitā*.[35]

(d) al-Bīrūnī has a strong tendency to attribute Aristotelian physical theories and Greek geometrical proofs to what his paṇḍit translated, thereby seriously distorting the Indian arguments.

Let us now examine the first few verses of chapter 21 of the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* in conjunction with Pṛthūdaka's comments and al-Bīrūnī's citations in the *India* in order to test the validity of our impressions.

In *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1 Brahmagupta says simply:

"The motion of the planets and *nakṣatras* is not the same everywhere for those standing on the earth. Because this can be understood as resulting from (the earth's being) a sphere, therefore I shall call it a sphere."

In his commentary on this verse Pṛthūdaka speaks of the following matters:

(1) The fact that the day and the night of the Devas on Mount Meru begin when the Sun is at the beginning of Capricorn and Cancer, respectively.

(2) The theory that the earth is *darpaṇodara*, "like a concave mirror."

(3) The theory that there are alternately seas and *dvīpas* surrounding the earth, each next one twice as broad as its predecessor.

(4) The theory in the Jinaśāstra that there are two Suns, two Moons, and fifty-four nakṣatras.

(5) The fact that a man at Laṅkā and men at Meru observe the same star in different directions, as do men at Yamakoṭi and Romaka.

Though al-Bīrūnī nowhere cites *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1, he does paraphrase, and attribute to Brahmagupta, points 2, 3, and 5 of Pṛthūdakasvāmin[36]. Point 4, the Jaina theory, al-Bīrūnī discusses (with some misunderstandings) elsewhere in the *India*[37] having derived it from *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 11, 3; but that Pṛthūdaka did find it in Balabhadra is proved by Utpala's quotation from Varāhamihira cited below. Immediately after his citation from Brahmagupta (*alias* Balabhadra on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1) al-Bīrūnī cites the view of Āryabhaṭa, Vasiṣṭha, and Lāṭa to the effect that the earth consists of the elements earth, water, fire, and wind (Āryabhaṭa) or earth, water, fire, wind and heaven (Vasiṣṭha

and Lāṭa), all of which elements are spherical. The verses of Lāṭācārya[38] and the *Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta*[39] are cited by Pṛthūdaka (from Balabhadra) on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 3 ; in them, of course, it is the earth, not the elements, that is spherical. In understanding these verses as describing the elements as occupying spheres concentric with the centre of the earth, al-Bīrūnī is manifesting his general tendency to force the Indian astronomers into the terms of Aristotelian physics.

The verse of the *Āryabhaṭīya* (Golapāda 12) that Pṛthūdaka quotes concerns the terrestrial locations of Meru and Vaḍavāmukha rather than the sphericity of the elemental world. That is described by Āryabhaṭa in Golapāda 6. And we find that Utpala in his commentary on *Bṛhatsamhitā* 2[40] quotes *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, 21, 2-3 and immediately follows this with Golapāda 6-7 and 11-12, the verses from the *Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta*, and Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 6-8, wherein 13, 8 discusses the Jaina theory of Pṛthūdaka's point 4. It would appear, then, that Utpala has also drawn upon Balabhadra's commentary.

In *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 2 Brahmagupta states :

"The earth's sphere is surrounded by the orbits of the Moon, Mercury, Venus, the Sun, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn, and (the universe) ends with the orbit of the constellations ; is shaped by the good and bad deeds of creatures."

Pṛthūdaka makes the following points in his comment on this verse :

(1) Astronomers obtain the veracity of the sphericity of the universe with the stars rotating and the earth standing still by using the rules of mathematics.

(2) The (Purāṇic) theory of a flat earth with Meru in the centre surrounded by concentric rings of *dvīpas* and *samudras* is to be rejected because of the non-existence of a sufficient magnitude of Meru to produce sunrises and sunsets, because of the varying altitudes of the planets and stars in different places, because of lunar eclipses (which are caused by the earth's shadow) and because of the latitudinal motion of the Moon and the five star-planets.

(3) The distances of the spheres can be computed in Yojanas.

(4) Each of the spheres has a set of great and small circles used in astronomical computations.

(5) At quadrants along the equator are the four cities Laṅkā, Romaka, Siddhapura, and Yamakoṭī, while Meru is at the North Pole, Vaḍavāmukha at the South.

(6) An observer at Laṅkā sees the equator as his east-west line, one at a Pole sees it as his horizon.

Al-Bīrūnī at one point in the *India*[41] correctly cites Brahmagupta, adding from the commentary only a reference to the fact that his order contradicts the traditional one. But again he understands Brahmagupta to be expressing Aristotelian views concerning sphericity and circular motion ; this can only in part be true as Brahmagupta knows nothing of Aristotle's celestial mechanics.

But elsewhere[42] al-Bīrūnī quotes, in part as from Brahmagupta, a description of the Purāṇic cosmology that came from Balabhadra's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 2, repeating some of what was said on 21, 1 as does Pṛthūdaka. In this passage al-Bīrūnī is particularly concerned with Pṛthūdaka's point 2 against the flat earth and with his point 1 in the comment on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1. After a statement that Brahmagupta cites Jina, whom al-Bīrūnī (presumably through his paṇḍit) mistakenly identifies with Buddha, on the rectangular shape of Meru, mentioned, in fact, by Pṛthūdaka on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1, al-Bīrūnī proceeds to quote from Balabhadra a discussion of Meru that includes the verse Golapāda 11 which, as we have seen, was one of the verses from the *Āryabhaṭiya* cited by Utpala from Balabhadra on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 2-3.

The third verse of *Brahmasphuṭasiddhanta* 21 reads :

"The sphere of the earth is in the heaven. The gods are on Meru, on the top of it, the Daityas at the bottom. The two poles which are at the ends of the axis of the constellations in the heaven are (respectively) above and below them".

Pṛthūdaka's commentary makes the following points, among others :

(1) As, because of their natures, fire burns, wind sets in motion, water moistens, and not one of them has an instigator for its sphere of activity, so the earth by nature bears and is not borne. Therefore, firm in the heaven, it bears all.

(2) The earth is below all things for several reasons, among which is the fact that, when students throw up clods, they always are seen to return to earth.

(3) Pṛthūdaka cites the verses from Lāṭa and Vasiṣṭha and Golapāda 12 which we have seen, in discussing *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1, were quoted by Balabhadra.

(4) Pṛthūdaka further quotes from Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 2-3, from Āryabhaṭa Golapāda 7, and a verse from

Lāṭadeva[43], all of which speak of the earth being covered by natural features and creatures. *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 1-4 are cited by Utpala immediately prior to his quotation of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 2-3, and of course we have already noted that he quotes Golapāda 7.

(5) The respective directions of Laṅkā, Romaka, Siddhapura, Yamakoṭī, Meru, and Vaḍavāmukha from each other are discussed, and the situations of persons at intermediate longitudes and latitudes are described.

Al-Bīrūnī paraphrases *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 3 in the *India*[44], and continues with a repetition of Pṛthūdaka's points 1 and 2, a citation of Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 2 from point 4, and a rephrasing of point 5, followed by the image of the kadamba-blossoms taken from the verses of Āryabhaṭa and Lāṭadeva cited in point 4. His further quotation from Balabhadra concerning the theory of the so-called Āptapurāṇakāra that the earth is like a tortoise's back is not found in Pṛthūdaka.

We have already seen that the verses from Lāṭa and Vasiṣṭha given in point 3 are included by al-Bīrūnī in his discussion of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 1. The extension of that discussion in the *India*[45] includes another reference to *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 2 ; a statement that Āryabhaṭa, Pauliśa, Vasiṣṭha, and Lāṭa agree on the time-differences between Laṅkā, Romaka, Siddhapura, and Yamakoṭi (this statement is related to Pṛthūdaka's point 5, but also shows a knowledge [perhaps Balabhadra's] of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 24, 2-3[46] ; an argument for the sphericity of the universe based on the periodicity of eclipses that seems related to part of Pṛthūdaka's point 2 on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 2 ; and a long quotation from Lāṭa which corresponds to *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 5 and its commentary, in which Pṛthūdaka, following Balabhadra, does cite a verse from Lāṭa,[47] though one that only hints at what al-Bīrūnī discusses in detail. Not only does al-Bīrūnī at whim rearrange the material provided by his translator ; he also misunderstands it.

In *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 4-5 Brahmagupta describes the diurnal rotation of the heavens caused by the *pravaha* wind. In his commentary on these verses Pṛthūdaka quotes from Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 5-6 (on 21, 4) ; from Āryabhaṭa's *Āryabhaṭīya* Golapāda 10 (on 21, 4) ; a verse from Pauliśa[48] and another from Vasiṣṭha[49] (on 21, 4) ; and a verse from Lāṭa[50] (on 21, 5). And Utpala, in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* immediately following the passage cited above,[51] quotes Varāhamihira's *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 5-34 ; Āryabhaṭa's Golapāda 9-10 ; the verse of Pauliśa quoted by Pṛthūdaka ; and *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 4-5.

Again it seems that both commentators are drawing on the same source, Balabhadra.

When we examine the *India* we find this conjecture confirmed. In one passage[52] al-Bīrūnī quotes *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 1, 3 with Balabhadra's commentary (in Pṛthūdaka's, and presumably Balabhadra's version 1, 1-3 preceded 21 ; this section of Pṛthūdaka's commentary does not survive in our manuscripts)[53]; followed by :

(1) A statement, attributed to Brahmagupta, about the equator as seen from the Poles ; this is closely related to a passage (in point 5) of Pṛthūdaka's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 3.

(2) A paraphrase of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 4.

(3) The analogy of a man looking at a reflection in the water, which is found in Pṛthūdaka's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 4.

(4) A discussion of the *pravaha* wind, attributed to Brahmagupta "in another place", but actually based on Balabhadra's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 4.

(5) A comparison of the planet's easterly motion with the independent motion of a dust-atom on a potter's wheel. Al-Bīrūnī states that Lāṭa, Āryabhaṭa, and Vasiṣṭha agree with this, and then adds : "but some people think that the earth moves while the Sun is resting". Clearly, Al-Bīrūnī has misunderstood Balabhadra's commentary, which first cited *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 6 :

"Others say : The earth, as if situated on a potter's wheel, revolves, not the constellations." If that were so, hawks and so on would not come back again to their abodes in the sky," and then quotes Āryabhaṭa (Golapāda 10), Pauliśa (rather than Lāṭa) and Vasiṣṭha on the diurnal rotation of the constellations.

(6) A statement about the direction of the diurnal rotation of the heavens as seen from each of the two Poles. This is taken directly from *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 4.

In another passage of the *India*[54] al-Bīrūnī talks of Āryabhaṭa's theory of the diurnal rotation of the earth. Though he ascribes the discussion to Brahmagupta, in fact his paṇḍit found it in Balabhadra. The relevant verse of Āryabhaṭa (Golapāda 9) is cited by Utpala, and Varāhmihira's counter-argument (*Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 6 c-d) appears in both Pṛthūdaka and Utpala. Moreover, Pṛthūdaka attributes to "others" the argument about the earth's motion that al-Bīrūnī assigns to the "followers of Āryabhaṭa", and includes a version of their refutation reported by al-Bīrūnī. But al-Bīrūnī's ascription to Brahmagupta of an "Aristotelian" argument against the diurnal rotation of the earth based on a theory of gravity is without basis : rather Balabhadra quoted *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 13, 7 :

"Another thing: if there were (a revolution) of the earth (every) day, bees, geese, flags, and so on would always be driven to the west; if it were moving slowly, how would it revolve (once a day)?" This alone will explain al-Bīrūnī's quotation from "Brahmagupta" (i.e., Balabhadra): "On the contrary, if that (i.e., a slow rotation of the earth) were the case, the earth would not vie in keeping an even and uniform pace with the minutes of heaven, the prāṇas of the times."

Let us now briefly survey the remainder of al-Bīrūnī's citations from Brahmagupta and Balabhadra. The next passage in Balabhadra's commentary of which al-Bīrūnī evinces a knowledge is that on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 10. For al-Bīrūnī[55] reports that Balabhadra gives the latitude of Kanoj as 26 ; 35°, that of Thāneshar as 30 ; 12° ; Pṛthūdaka on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 10 says that the latitude of Kānyakubja is 26 ; 35°. He also read the next verse, as his explanation of it and of the opinions of Vasiṣtha and of the followers of Āryabhaṭa[56], is found in Pṛthūdaka's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 11. The next few verses, which continue Brahmagupta's discussion of the method of computating planetary distances (*Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 12-15), along with the commentary which contained actual computations, is used in several places by al-Bīrūnī.

Once[57] he quotes Brahmagupta's theory that a minute in the orbit of the Moon contains 15 Yojanas, and notes Balabhadra's report of a computation of the diameter of its disc from an observation of the time required for its rising or setting ; both elements are found in Pṛthūdaka's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 11. In the same passage al-Bīrūnī proceeds with the actual computations of the planetary distances similar to those which Utpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* performs in accordance with the parameters of Pauliśa,[58] though Utpala also cites *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 10 and the last pāda of 21, 11. Finally, al-Bīrūnī twice[59] mentions Brahmagupta's use of $\sqrt{10}$ as π in *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 15—a value that he derived from the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*, and which al-Bīrūnī knew when he wrote the *On Transits*, presumably from the *Zij al-Sindhind*[60].

The final section of this chapter utilized by al-Bīrūnī is that on eclipses, *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 21, 32-43[61]. Al-Bīrūnī expresses Brahmagupta's meaning very freely, and not always very accurately. His geometric proof is evidently taken from some commentary as he indicates that there seems to be a gap in the manuscript, but this commentary could not have been Balabhadra's as its method is Greek rather than Indian. I suspect one of al-Bīrūnī's paṇḍits was

trying to make his translation of Brahmagupta intelligible to his master. His reporting of Brahmagupta's criticism of the astronomical explanation of eclipses contains both some of his characteristic expansions of his source's words and some material derived from Balabhadra.

Al-Bīrūnī had also read from the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* chapters 1 and 11, and parts of 20 and 24 when he wrote the *India.* From chapter 1 he cites verses 8-9 and 13 with Balabhadra's commentary on verse 9, which was also used by Pṛthūdaka[62] ; verses 10 and 15-27[63] ; verses 11 and 12 with Balabhadra on verse 28[64] ; verses 29-30[65] ; verses 51-55[66] ; verse 61 with Balabhadra's commentary[67] ; and verse 62[68]. From chapter 11, the *Tantraparīkṣā*, he quotes verses 3[69], 4[70], 5[71], and 15-16[72]. Of chapter 20, on meters, he gives a translation of a single leaf[73], whose contents seem largely to be a commentary on the first verses ; and of chapter 24, he uses only verses 2-3[74].

In conclusion, then, we can reconfirm our findings as set out at the beginning of this paper. Al-Bīrūnī's paṇḍits, on whom he seems to have relied completely for his knowledge of the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* as he had for that of the *Pauliśasiddhānta*, seriously misled him by not always indicating in their translations what came from the *mūla* and what from Balabhadra's commentary. Further, al-Bīrūnī seriously distorted what they translated for him (which seems to have been limited to the first chapters of the book and a few scattered passages from the interior) by trying to read into it Aristotelian concepts of celestial mechanics and terrestrial physics. But we have also seen that not only al-Bīrūnī, but also Pṛthūdaka and Utpala have relied extensively on Balabhadra's commentary on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*. This lost work, then, can now be better known than before. And the edition of Pṛthūdaka's commentary will reveal to us many more Balabhadran passages, though they, unfortunately, will be far more difficult to identify than those discussed in this paper.

Footnotes

1. On al-Bīrunī one should now consult E. S. Kennedy's article in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 2, New York 1970, pp. 147-158. On his knowledge of Sanskrit see E. C. Sachau, *Indo-arabische Studien zur Aussprache und Geschichte des Indischen in der ersten Haelfle des XI. Jahrhunderts, Berlin 1888*; S. K. Chatterji, "Al-Biruni and Sanskrit," *Al-Bīrūnī Commemoration Volume*, Calcutta 1951, pp. 83-100; and J. Gonda,

"Remarks on al-Bīrūnī's Quotations from Sanskrit Texts," *ibid.*, pp. 111-118. Gonda finds al-Bīrūnī's citations from Purāṇas more accurate than I find his quotations of Brahmagupta.

2. D. Pingree, "The Later Pauliśasiddhānta", *Centaurus* 14, 1969, 172-241. There are some additional fragments of Pauliśa in al-Bīrūnī's *On Shadows* and *On Gems*.

3. On Brahmagupta see D Pingree in *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*, vol. 2, New York 1970, pp. 416-418. The edition of his *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* by S. Dvivedin, Benares 1902, is far superior to that by R. S. Sharma, 4 vols., New Delhi 1966. The present author is preparing a new edition of the text with Pṛthūdaka's commentary, an English translation, and a commentary.

4. Balabhadra is quoted by Pṛthūdakasvāmin in his *Vāsanābhāṣya* which he wrote before 864, and himself cites, as we shall see below (see fns. 57-60), a verse from the eighth century *Pauliśasiddhānta*. It will also be seen (fn. 55) that Balabhadra gave the latitude of Kānyakubja in his commentary. Both Pauliśa and Balabhadra may have flourished during the long reign (ca. 725-750 ?) of Yaśovarman of Kānyakubja, who was himself a poet and who patronized Bhavabhūti and Vākpatirāja, while Pṛthūdaka wrote under the Pratīhāra monarch Bhoja (ca. 836-885).

5. D. Pingree, "The Fragments of the Works of al-Fazārī," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 29, 1970, 103-123; see esp. frs. Z1, Z2, Z5, Z12, Z16, S1, and S2.

6. D. Pingree, "The Fragments of the Works of Yaᶜqub ibn Ṭāriq," *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 27, 1968, 97-125; see esp, frs. Z1, Z2, Z5, T7, T8, T9, T10, T11, K5 and K6.

7. *Tamhīd al-mustaqarr li taḥqiq ma'na al-mamarr*, ed. as part 3 of *Rasa' il al-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948; English translation, by M. Saffouri and A. Ifram with a commentary by E. S. Kennedy, Beirut 1959. Note that *On Transits* 27 : 1-3 indicates that al-Bīruni realized that Brahmagupta's R equals 3270 (cf. al-Fazārī's frs. Z12 and Z16), and that in *On Transits* 28 : 8-10 and 29 : 5 al-Bīrūnī ascribes to the *Brahmasiddhānta* the parameters for the circumferences of the solar and lunar epicycles and the value of π found in the *Paitāmahasiddhānta* (see D. Pingree, "The *Paitāmahasiddhānta* of the *Viṣṇudharmottarapurāṇa*", *Brahmavidyā* 31-32, 1967-68, 472-510, esp. III 6 and 10 on 479; cf. Ya'qūb fr. Z7 and fn. 59 below).

8. *Kitāb fi taḥqīq mā li' l-Hind*, Hyderabad 1958; English translation by E. C. Sachau, 2 vols., London 1910.

9. *Al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, 3 vols. Hyderabad 1954-56.

10. *India*, ed. p. 119, trans. vol. 1, p. 154 (Pauliśa fr. P. 2).

11. *Ifrād al-maqāl fī amr al-zilāl*, ed. as part 2 of *Rasā' il al-Bīrūnī*, Hyderabad 1948.

12. *On Shadows*, p. 141.

13. *Bṛhatsaṃhitāvivṛti*, ed. S. Dvivedin, 2 vols., Benares 1895: repr. Vārāṇasī 1968. On p. 26 are found these ślokas of Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra :

ravyaṃśabhogo 'horātraḥ sauraś cāndramasas tithiḥ /
candranakṣatrabhogaś ca nākṣatraḥ parikīrtitaḥ //
svasāvano graharkṣāṇām udayād udayāvadhiḥ /
nakṣatramāne māsaḥ syāt saptaviṃśativāsaraiḥ //
śeṣamāneṣu nirdiṣṭo māsas triṃśaddinātmakaḥ /
iṣṭāḥ sarveṣu māneṣu samā dvādaśamāsikāḥ //

Cf. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 1, 22-25, and Pauliśa fr. P. 14.

On p. 33 Utpala cites some more verses from Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra :

ujjayinītas tu gatā yā rekhā dakṣiṇena laṅkāyām /
uttaratas tu sumeror jñeyā deśāntarākhyā sā //
svadeśarekhāntarayojanānāṃ
  ṣaṣṭyā hatānāṃ sphuṭabhūhṛtānām /
jñeyaḥ sa labdhyā ghaṭikādikālo
  deśāntarākhyaḥ satataṃ svadeśe //
carārdhatatkālayutau gatāyāṃ
  divā surāhe dinapādivelā /
rekhādibhāge ca pare niśāyāṃ
  kālena śeṣeṇa mahendrarātrau //
rekhādibhāge tridiveśarātrau
  kālāntaronaś carakhaṇḍaśeṣaḥ /
kāle nate tatkṣaṇadāvaśeṣe
  nyūne carārdhe tu divāgate syāt //
rekhāparārdhe tu kṛtāntarāle
  carārdhakālābhyadhike dinasya /
kāle prayāte tridaśāhni velā
  tadūnitāyāṃ kṣaṇadāvaśeṣe //

Cf. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 1, 34-38.

And on p. 34 he cites from Bhaṭṭa Balabhadra :

prārambhakālād dinapasya yāte
  kāle yamaghne 'rthahṛte tu labdhiḥ /
śarāhatā candrayutādribhaktā
  śeṣas tu horādhipatir dyupādeḥ //

Cf. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 13, 47.

14. For Pṛthūdakasvāmin's commentary I have used two manuscripts : a copy of VVRI 1781 (VVRI was used by Sharma, though the gibberish that he prints can scarcely be called an edition) and IO Sanskrit 2769 ; for my edition I hope also to be able to use BORI 339 of 1879/80. Pṛthūdaka quotes from Balabhadra on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 1, 22 :

khacatuṣkaṃ śarābdhyaṣṭinavāgāgaśarendavaḥ /
kalpe sūryodayā jñeyās ta eva ca kuvāsarāḥ //

On 1, 23-24 he quotes four more ślokas :

khacatuṣkaṃ śarārthāśvivasuśūnyaśarāśvinaḥ /
kalponarātrā vijñeyā nityam eva manīṣibhiḥ //
saptaśūnyāni vedāṣṭaniśākaraśilīmukhāḥ /
bhavanti māsāḥ sāvitrā brāhmeṇāhnā sadaiva tu //
pañcaśūnyāni rāmāgninavapañcaniśākarāḥ /
kalpādhimāsakā jñeyā nityam eva vicakṣaṇaiḥ //
śūnyaṣaṭkaṃ ca gonandanavāśvikharasendavaḥ /
kalpe cāndradināny āhur nityaṃ gaṇitapāragāḥ //

And on 1, 31 he quotes a long passage in ślokas :

ekonaṣaṣṭir aṣṭau ca daśa ceti raver gatiḥ /
khāṣṭagonandanandartusaṅkhyaḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
iyam eva gatir jñeyā śaśāṅkasutaśukrayoḥ /
bhaumajīvārkatanayaśīghroccānāṃ tathaiva ca //
khanavāgāś catustriṃśad yamabāṇā niśābhṛtaḥ /
khartvaṣṭanavakhārthendusaṅkhyaḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
candrarāmā rasayamā vasupakṣāḥ kujasya tu /
dvipañcarasaśūnyāśvipakṣāḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
arthābdhipakśā daśanā jñaśīghrasyāṣṭagonṛpāḥ /
vedatattvenadukhanavasaṅkhyaḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
vedā navārthā nava ca gatir jīvasya kīrtitā /
pañcāgagonavāgāśvisaṅkhyaḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
sitaśīghrasya ṣaṇnandāḥ parvatāḥ kṛtasāgarāḥ /
pakṣārthāgnirasābdhīśasaṅkhyaḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
ārker dvau gaganaṃ caiva <yama> pakṣā gatiḥ smṛtā /
dhṛtiṣaṇnandasaptāṣṭisaṅkhyaḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
rasāḥ khavedā rāmārthāś candrasyoccagatiḥ smṛtā /
guṇāṣṭagorthāgnivasucandrāḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
candrapātasya dahanā diśaś cāṣṭārṇavās tathā /
aṣṭartunavapakṣārtharasāḥ śeṣaś ca tātparaḥ //
śeṣāṇāṃ tatparāḥ śeṣāḥ kramaśaś cārkamandataḥ /
khāṣṭakhartukṛtāḥ śeṣāḥ sūryoccasya tu tātparaḥ //
bhaumoccasyāśvidahanaśūnyavasvaśvinaḥ smṛtāḥ /
budhoccasyāśviśailāṣṭapañcarāmāḥ prakīrtitāḥ /
khāṣṭaśunyāṣṭavasavo jīvoccasya prakīrtitāḥ /
śukroccasya tu vasvaṣṭarasapakṣarasāḥ smṛtāḥ //

ṛtvagninandadahanāḥ sauroccasya prakīrtitāḥ /
bhaumapātasya ca tathā daśanartuśarāśvinaḥ //
budhapātasya ṣaṭcandraśūnyaśūnyeṣavaḥ smṛtāḥ /
jīvapātasya vasvaśviśūnyaṣaṭkāḥ prakīrtitāḥ //
śukrapātasya vasvaśvisaptārthavasavaḥ smṛtāḥ /
saurapātasya vedartuśūnyaṣaṭpañcakāḥ smṛtāḥ //
chedas tu tatparāśeṣe sarveṣāṃ ca nigadyate /
pañcadevakhavasvaśvinavaprāleyaraśmayaḥ //

15. *India*, ed. p. 120, trans., vol. 1, p. 156.
16. *India*, ed. p. 311, trans., vol. 1, p. 370.
17. Much of our available information about *Zil al-Arjabhar* is summarized by E.S. Kennedy and D. Pingree in their forthcoming edition of al-Hāshimī's *Kitāb ʿilal al-zījāt*
18. Al-Bīrūnī quotes from "Āryabhaṭa of Kusumapura's" *Kitāb fī al-ntf* (should one read *al-nutfa* ?) or *Āryabhaṭīya* :
    1. Gaṇitapāda 2 in *India*, ed. p. 138, trans. vol. 1, p. 176.
    2. Golapāda 11 in *India*, ed. p. 203, trans. vol. 1, p. 246.
    3. Golapāda 17 in *India*, ed. p. 279, trans, vol. 1, p. 330.
    4. Kālakriyā 1 (the word vināḍī) in *India*, ed. p. 282, trans. vol. 1, p. 335.
    5. Kālakriyā 8-9 in *India*, ed. p. 312, trans. vol. 1, pp. 370-371.

The pseudo-quotation that he gives in *India*, ed. p. 269, trans. vol. 1, p. 316, is really from a commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* written after Pṛthudaka's of 864 ; see Pauliśa fr. p. 25.

19. *India*, ed. p. 122, trans. vol. 1. p. 158.
20. Ed. Bombay, 1864.
21. *India*, ed. p. 121, trans. vol. 1, p. 157.
22. Ed. A. S. Gopani, Bombay 1949.
23. *India*, ed. p. 121, trans. vol. 1, p. 156.
24. *India*, ed. p. 494, trans. vol. 2, p. 187.
25. Ed. P. C. Sengnpta, Calcutta 1941.
26. Ed. B. Chatterjee, 2 vols., Calcutta 1970 ; see also D Pingree, "The Beginning of Utpala's Commentary on the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*," to appear in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.
27. *India*, ed. pp. 119-120, trans. vol. 1, pp. 154-155
28. Unfortunately, in the manuscripts available to me the beginning of the commentary is lost ; but it is clear from Pṛthūdaka's introduction to his commentary on chapter 1 that he (presumably following Balabhadra) put *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* 1, 1-3 before 21. Cf. fn. 53 below.

29. This circumstance confirms that al-Bīrunī did not personally inspect the Sanskrit manuscript, or, if he did, he was so ignorant of Sanskrit that he could not distinguish the poetic text from the prose explanation. This is also the conclusion we reached in considering the *Pauliśasiddhānta*.

30. This is, of course, the normal situation with regard to the relation between earlier and later *ṭīkākāras* ; cf. our article cited in fn. 26.

31. The quotations that al-Bīrūnī makes directly from the *Āryabhaṭīya* have been noted in fn. 18. His other sources, besides Balabhadra, include the *Zīj al-Arjabhar*, especially the version of Abu al-Ḥasan al-Ahwāzī (cf. *India*, ed. p. 357, trans. vol. 2, p. 19), and Brahmagupta's criticisms of Āryabhaṭa (e.g., *India*, ed. pp. 311-312, trans. vol. 1, p. 370 [Pauliśa fr. P 8]).

32. The genuine fragments of Lāṭadeva, who wrote in ca. 505, are assembled in O. Neugebauer and D. Pingree, *The Pañcasiddhāntikā of Varāhamihira*, 2 vols., Kbenhavn 1970-1971, vol. 1, pp. 14-15.

33. Viṣṇucandra wrote his recension of the *Vasiṣṭhasiddhānta* in the latter half of the sixth century ; the fragments are to be found *ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 10-12.

34. I refer to the edition mentioned in fn. 32. Al-Bīrūnī also found some *Pañcasiddhāntikā* verses only in Utpala ; e.g., *Pañcasiddhāntikā* 1, 9-10 is cited in *India*, ed. pp. 385-386, trans. vol. 2, p. 51, from Utpala on *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* 2 (vol. 1, p. 30).

35. See below fns. 40 and 51.

36. *India*, ed. pp. 222-223, trans. vol. 1, pp. 267-268.

37. See fn. 69 below.

38. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, vol. 1, p. 15, fn. 17.

39. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, vol. 1, p. 11, fn. 9.

40. Vol. 1, pp. 55-56.

41. *India*, ed. p. 182, trans. vol. 1, pp. 220-224.

42. *India*, ed. pp. 200-201, trans. vol. 1, pp. 243-244.

43. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, vol. 1, p. 15, fn. 18.

44. *India*, ed. pp. 227-228, trans. vol. 1, pp. 272-273.

45. *India*, ed. pp. 223-224, trans, vol. 1, pp. 268-269. (cf. Pauliśa fr. P 57).

46. Cf. *India*, ed. p. 222, trans. vol. 1, pp. 266-267. (cf. Pauliśa fr. P. 53).

47. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, vol. 1, p. 15, fn. 20.

48. Pauliśa fr. P. 52.

49. *Pañcasiddhāntikā*, vol. 1, p. 11, fn. 10.
50. See fn. 47.
51. Vol. 1, pp. 56-59.
52. *India*, ed. pp. 233-234, trans. vol. 1, pp. 279-280.
53. See above fn. 28. From this same section of Balabhadra's commentary probably are derived *In dia* ed. p. 310, trans. vo 1, pp. 368-369. and ed. p 344 trans. vol. 2, pp 4-5 (Pauliśa fr. P 9).
54. *India*, ed. p. 231, trans. vol. 1, pp. 276-277.
55. *India*, ed. p. 280, trans. vol. 1, p. 317.
56. *India*, ed. p. 183, trans. vol. 1, pp. 224-225.
57. *India*, ed. pp. 401-403, trans vol 2, pp. 70-71.
58. Vol. 1. pp. 46-54 (Pauliśa fr. p. 59) ; cf. *India*, ed. pp. 404-405 trans. vol. 2, pp. 72-73 (Pauliśa fr. P61).
59. *India*, ed. p. 131, trans. vol. 1, p. 168, and ed. p. 407, trans vol. 2, p. 74.
60. See above fn. 7.
61. Verses 32-34 in *India*, ed. pp. 407-409, trans. vol. 2, pp. 75-77 verses 37-43 in *India*, ed. pp. 435-436, trans. vol. 2, pp. 110 111.
62. *India*, ed pp. 313-314, trans. vol. 1, pp. 372-374. (Pauliśa fr. P 7).
63. *India*, ed. pp. 352-353, trans. vol. 2, p. 16, and ed. p. 493, trans. vol. 2, p. 186. Cf. also, with the first of these, al-Bīrūnī's *Tafhīm al-awāʾil ṣināʿ at al-tanjīm*, ed. R. R. Wright, London 1934, sect. 204.
64. *India*, ed. p. 324, trans. vol. 1, p. 386.
65. *India*, ed. pp. 361-362, trans. vol. 2, p. 24.
66. *India*, ed. pp. 391-392, trans. vol. 2, pp. 59-60.
67. *India*, ed. pp. 352-353, trans. vol. 2, p. 16.
68. *India*, ed. pp. 316-317, trans. vol. 1, p. 376 (Pauliśa fr. P 6).
69. *India*, ed. pp. 412-413, trans. vol. 2, p. 82 ; cf. above fn. 37.
70. *India*, ed. p. 370, trans. vol. 2, p. 33 ; cf. Pauliśa fr. P 13.
71. *India*, ed. pp. 311-312, trans. vol. 1, p. 370 (Pauliśa fr. P 8).
72. *India*, ed. pp. 131-132, trans. vol. 1, p. 168.
73. *India*, ed. pp 115-117, trans. vol. 1, pp. 147-150.
74. See above fn. 46 and *India*, ed. p. 119, trans. vol. 1, pp. 153-154.

BRAHMAGUPTA'S WORKS AND THEIR INFLUENCE IN AND OUTSIDE INDIA

R. N RAI

Brahmagupta, born in A.D. 598, was one of the greatest Indian astronomers. He wrote three books: one the *Dhyānagrahopadeśa*, the second the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* which he wrote at the age of 30 and the third the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* which he wrote when he was 67 years old. The third book gives simplified methods to obtain results according to the astronomical constants of his great predecessor, Āryabhaṭa I, though earlier, in his second book, he had severely criticised him along with other previous astronomers. The second is his main book. The first is a *Karaṇa grantha* like *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* but based on the constants of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta.*

It is known that the second and third books were commented upon by Balabhadra and Caturveda Pṛthūdaka Svāmī. Manuscripts of the commentaries of Balabhadra are not now available. But Pṛthūdaka Svāmī in his commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* quotes from Balabhadra's commentary on *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*[1] and al-Bīrūnī seems to be familiar with both the commentaries.[2] The third book is known to have been commented upon by Lalla, Bhaṭṭotpala, Someśvara, Varuṇa, Āmarāja and Śrīdatta.

Brahmagupta was not only a great astronomer but also a great mathematician and has made original contributions both in algebra and geometry. Among other results in algebra he has stated, without proof, the result that[3]

$$\frac{a}{b} = \frac{a}{b+h} + \left(\frac{a}{b+h}\right)\frac{h}{b}.$$

Here a suitable value can be assumed for h to obtain the result conveniently.

But his most important contribution to algebra is the solution of the indeterminate equation

$$Nx^2 + c = y^2$$

He stated that if for two convenient values k and k′ of C, the solutions are (α, β) and (α', β'), then

$$x = \alpha\beta' \pm \beta\alpha', \qquad \text{and } y = \beta\beta' \pm N\alpha\alpha'$$

are two other pairs of the solutions of the equation[4]

$$Nx^2 = kk' = y^2$$

This result can be easily proved. Brahmagupta had indicated how to obtain solutions of the equation $Nx^2 + 1 = y^2$, if solutions of the equation $Nx^2 + C = y^2$ for $C = -1, \pm 2$, and ± 4 are known. These results were later utilised by Bhāskara II (A.D. 1150) to develop his *cakravāla* method to obtain solutions of the equation

$$Nx^2 + 1 = y^2$$

As has been observed by Srinivasiengar it is therefore fitting that this equation be called Brahmagupta-Bhāskara equation[5].

Brahmagupta made a deep study of right-angled triangles and stated that a,b,c form a right-angled triangle if

$$a = 2mn,\ b = m^2 - n^2, \text{ and } c = m^2 + n^2,$$

where m and n are any two rational numbers[6].

He also gave a rule for constructing right-angled triangles starting from a given side[7]. He says, "The given side, the square of the given side divided by any desired number and the result reduced by the same number and the difference halved, form the adjacent sides of a rectangle of which the diagonal is equal to the half the difference increased by that very desired number". This means that a, $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{m} - m\right)$ are the sides and the diagonal is equal to $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{m} + m\right)$

If we now take two desired numbers m and n and form the two sets of numbers a, $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{m} - m\right)$, $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{m} + m\right)$ and a, $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} - n\right)$, $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} + n\right)$ both sets will give right angled triangles. If we now put the triangles side by side with 'a' common and the two right angles adjacent, we will get a triangle of altitude a and the sides $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{m} + m\right)$, $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{n} + n\right)$ and $\frac{1}{2}\left(\frac{a^2}{m} + \frac{a^2}{n} - m - n\right)$ in which the sides and the altitude are rational numbers[8].

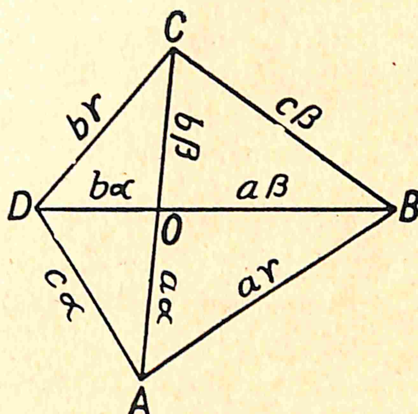
He states the following formulae for the area of a triangle and that of a quadrilateral[9] :

$$\text{Area of triangle} = \sqrt{s(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)}$$

Area of quadrilateral $= \sqrt{(s-a)(s-b)(s-c)(s-d)}$ where s is half the sum of the sides. Here he seems to be considering only cyclic quadrilaterals.

Another result stated by Brahmagupta is that the diameter of the circumcircle of a triangle is $\frac{bc}{p}$ where b and c are two sides of the triangle and p is the perpendicular from their point of intersection on the third side[10]. Brahmagupta has not proved this result but it can be easily proved.

This result he has utilised in constructing two types of cyclic quadrilaterals with rational sides. Let us take two sets of numbers (a, b, c) and (α, β, γ) such that $a^2+b^2=c^2$ and $\alpha^2+\beta^2=\gamma^2$. These sets can easily be obtained bye the method previously described. Now we can construct triangles OAB, OBC, OCD, ODA with the sides as shown. Then the radius of the circumcircle of th triangle BCD is



$\frac{1}{2}\frac{C\beta.\ b\gamma}{b\beta}=\frac{1}{2}$ $C\gamma$. But this is also the radius of the circumcircle, of triangle BDA. Hence the circle passing through the points, B, C and D will also pass through A and we get a cyclic quadrilateral. In this case the two diagonals are right angles to each other. If we now construct another quadrilateral with one of the diagonals equal to $C\gamma$ and composed of triangles with sides ($a\gamma$, $b\gamma$, $c\gamma$) and ($c\alpha$, $c\beta$ $c\gamma$) the quadrilateral consists of two right-angled triangles and it is easy to see that this also is cyclic. They are known as Brahmagupta's quadrilaterals. They have both the same area which is equal to $\frac{1}{2}(ab\gamma^2+\alpha\beta c^2)$.

Another result stated by Brahmagupta, which is true for cyclic quadrilaterals is the following :

The sum of the products of the two pairs of sides about any diagonal divided by the sum of the products of the pairs of sides about the other diagonal and the result multiplied by the sum of the products of the opposite sides gives the square of the first diagonal. Similarly for the second diagonal.[12]

If the diagonal of length x has the sides (a, b) and (c, d) adjacent to it, and ys is the length of the other diagonal, then,

$$x^2=\frac{(ab+cd)\,(ac+bd)}{ad+bc} \text{ and } y^2=\frac{(ad+bc)\,(ac+bd)}{ab+cd}$$

He has also stated formulae for the construction of cyclic isosceles trapezium and a trapezium with three equal sides.[13] But the most important result is the formula for the second interpolation which he must have arrived at some time before A.D. 628 as according to him he wrote *Dhyānagrahopadeśādhyāya* before *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* and the formula first occurs in *Dhyānagrahopadeśādhyāya*.[14] This formula has been stated in connection with finding a more correct value of the *jyā* or *utkranajyā*. It says :

"Multiply the *vikalā* (remainder left over after subtracting as many complete arcs for which the results have been stated) by half the difference between the *Gatakhaṇḍa* (last *Khaṇḍajyā* etc. crossed over) and the *Bhogyakhaṇḍa* (*Khaṇḍajyā* etc of the arc difference in which the angle lies) and divide the product by 900. Add the result to half the sum of the *Gatakhaṇḍa* and *Bhogyakhaṇḍa*, if their half sum is less than the *Bhogyakhaṇḍa*; subtract if greater. The result in each case gives the correct tabular difference."

The direction to divide by 900′ is given because both in *Dhyānagrahopadeśa* and *khaṇḍakhādyaka*, the values of the *Khaṇḍajyās* are given at intervals of 900′. If the tabular differences are given at any other interval, that value should be taken. According to the above, the correct tabular difference is

$$\triangle f = \tfrac{1}{2}(\triangle_n f + \triangle_{n+1} f) \pm \tfrac{1}{2}(\triangle_n f \sim \triangle_{n+1} f)\frac{\theta}{h},$$

where the values of the function have been tabulated at intervals of h and the value is required at the point $(nh+\theta)$. Hence $f(nh+\theta) = f(nh) + \frac{\theta}{2h}(\triangle_n f + \triangle_{n+1} f) - \frac{\theta^2}{2h}(\triangle_n f - \triangle_n + f)$. This is the first instance of the use of second interpolation in history. Although in the context in which it is stated, it seems to apply to *jyā* and *utkramajyā* evaluations only, it can be applied to any fun.tion as has been made clear by the commentators.

Similarly many new results were given by Brahmagupta in astronomy which were adopted by later astronomers. Bhāskara I has given a method for determining the east west line at any place. However this does not take into account the small change in the position of the sun on the ecliptic. This was pointed out by Brahmagupta.[15] His commentator Pṛthūdakasvami has supplied the details of the correct method intended by him. This method was later adopted by Śrīpati and Bhāskara II.

Brahmagupta also gave a more correct method of calculating the true longitude of the sun and moon.[16] This is important especially at the time of a solar eclipse. This method was later adopted by Bhāskara II. Other results given by Brahmagupta and

adopted by later a tronomers are the corrections to the *Mandoccā* and *Mandaparidhi* of Mars, the correction of *Lambana* in a solar eclipse, the angle subtended at the earth by the shadow of the earth at the orbit of the moon and his method of calculating the conjunction of planets.

Brahmagupta's influence on later Indian astronomers has been very great. They not only adopted many of his results but were also influenced by his other ideas. Āryabhaṭa I had stated that the origin of the apparent daily motion of the sun and stars from east to west is the rotation of the earth on its axis from west to east. For this statement he was severely criticised by Brahmagupta. Later astronomers accepted Brahmagupta's view.

Similarly although Āryabhaṭa had earlier stated that all the four *yugas* are of equal duration and a *kalpa* consist of 1008 *caturyugas*, all the later astronomers followed Brahmagupta in assuming that the duration of the four yugas is in the ratio 4 : 3 : 2 : 1 and that the *kalpa* consists of 1000 *caturyugas*, although, to reconcile some of the results, the authors of the modern *Sūrya Siddhānta* and *Mahāsiddhānta* were forced to assume a time gap between the creation of the world and the beginning of the motion of the planets. In this they may also have been influenced by the opinion expressed in the *purāṇas*. Brahmagupta himself seems to have been a great believer in the ideas propagated by the religious books and criticises the *Romaka Siddhānta* and Āryabhaṭa I for expressing opinions not in accordance with the ideas of these books.[17] Following the *Purāṇas* he also states that half the age of Brahmā has already passed.[18] He even criticises the astronomers Varāhamihira, Śrīṣeṇa, Āryabhaṭa I and Viṣṇucandra for believing that it is not Rāhu which causes the eclipses but the shadows of the sun and the moon, because the views of these astronomers were not in accordance with the teachings of the *Vedas*, the *Smṛtis* and *Saṃhitās* like the *Garga Saṃhitā*.[19]

It has been already stated that Balabhadra wrote commentaries on both the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* and the *Khaṇḍakhādyaka*. He also seems to have written a *Siddhānta* based on the constants of Brahmagupta. This is proved by the quotations given by Pṛthūdaka in his commentary on the *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*[20] and by Bhaṭṭotpala in his commentary on the *Bṛhatsaṃhitā*.[21] Other astronomers who have written *Siddhāntas* based on the constants of Brahmagupta are Śrīpati (A.D. 1039) and Bhāskara II (A.D. 1150). The only difference is that Śrīpati gives the figure 54 for the number of revolutions of the apogee of the Saturn in place of 41 given by Brahmagupta.

Also a large number of *Karaṇas* were composed by astronomers based on the constants of *Brāhamasphuṭasiddhānta*. One was written by Duralabha of Multan in Śaka 848 From the method which he uses in calculating the *ahargaṇa*, as described by al-Bīrūnī[22], it is clear that he is using the constants of Brahmagupta. Unfortunately it has been lost and al-Bīrūnī does not give its name. Another was composed by Raja Bhojadeva in Śaka 964. Its name is *Rajamṛgāṅka* and here Bhoja gives corrections to be applied to the mean places of the planets obtained by the constants of *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*. One Rājā Daśabala of the family Vallabha composed another *Karaṇa* named *Karṇakamalamārtaṇḍa* in Śaka 980. Here also the constants of Brahmagupta along with corrections of *Rajamṛgāṅka* have been used for calculating the mean places of the planets. Bhāskara II, in addition to the *Siddhāntaśiromaṇi*, composed *Karaṇa kutūhala* in Śaka 1105 based on the constants of Brahmagupta and the corrections of *Rajamṛgāṅka*. *Mahādevasaraṇi* of Mahādeva (Śaka 1238) and *Kheṭakasiddhi* and *Candrārki* of Dinakara (Śaka 1500) and other Karaṇas based on the contants of Brahmagupta are known to exist. There must have been many more which might have been lost.

About A D. 770, the two books of Brahmagupta viz. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* and *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* were translated into the Arabic by Yaqūb Ibn Tārīq and Alfazāri with the help of a Brahman Gaṇaka, i.e. astronomer who accompanied in A.D. 770 an embassy from Sindh to Baghdad. They were called by the Arabs as *Sindhind* and *al-Arkand*. Yaqūb Ibn Tārīq in his book Tarkīb Al-aflāk, i.e. composition of the Spheres, speaks of four kinds of measures of time, viz., the *saura māna*, the *sāvana māna*, the *cāndra māna* and the *nākṣatra māna*.[23] Al-Bīrūnī had with him copies of the translations but was not satisfied by them and criticises Yaqūb Ibn Tārīq for not understanding the exact meaning of *ūnarātra*.[24]

About half a century later the methods of *Sindhind* were used by al-Khwārizimi to construct his astronomical tables in which he takes 17th February 3102 as the date of the flood. This shows unmistakable Hindu influence as it is well known that in Hindu astronomy this date is taken as the beginning of *Kaliyuga*.

Many other astronomers constructed *zijes* based on Hindu methods. Abu Ma'shar al-Balkhī (A.D. 787—A.D., 886), who also had studied the *Sindhind* and the Zij *al-Arkand*, in his book "Conjunctions and Transits", has given the mean longitudes of the planets at the times of the mean conjunctions of Saturn and Jupiter gsince the epoch of 17th February 3102 B. C. Al-Battāni, who generally bases his work on Ptolemy's almagest, uses a gnomon of

12 parts as used in Hindu Astronomy. Al-Bīrūnī in the beginning of the eleventh century spent a number of years in travelling in India and acquired a good knowledge of Sanskrit. He claims to have translated the *Laghujātaka* of Varāhamihira.[25] Other books translated by him are *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* and *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* of Brahmagupta, *Yogasūtra* of Patañjali, *Sāṅkhyśāstra*, *Karaṇatilaka* of Vijayānanda and *Puliśasiddhānta*.

The tables of al-Khwārizmi were revised by the Spanish astronomer Masalama al-Majriti. The knowledge of Hindu astronomy thus travelled from the eastern part of the Muslim world to the western part. Recently Prof. Thorndike brought to light a Latin manuscript (M.S. Ashmole 191 II) in which astronomical computations have been made for the year A.D. 1428 for the geographical latitude of New Minister. England.[26] In this also the year of the flood is taken to be February 16, 3102 B.C. This is only one day away from the *Kaliyuga* era. In the calculations use is made, not of Ptolemy's chords, but of Hindu methods using sine-functions taking R = 150, which is the value taken in *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* and *Dhyānagrahopadeśa* by Brahmagupta. Thus the influence of Brahmagupta's works was felt even in far off England.

Footnotes

1. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* edited by R. S. Sharma and others. Institute of Astronomical and Sanskrit Research, New Delhi, 1966, Vol. III p. 643.
2. Al-Bīrūnī's India. Translated by Sachau, Vol. I, pp. 156, 243, 279, Vol. II p. 187.
3. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, XII, 57.
4. Ibid, XVIII, 64-65.
5. The History of Ancient Indian Mathematics by C.N. Srinivasaiengar. 1967, p. 110.
6. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, XII, 33.
7. Ibid, XII, 35.
8. Ibid, XII, 34.
9. Ibid, XII, 21 (ii)
10. Ibid, XII, 27.
11. Ibid, XII, 38.
12. Ibid, XII, 28.
13. Ibid, XII, 36, 37.
14. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta* edited by R. S. Sharma and others. Vol. I, p. 325 f. n. See also *Khaṇḍakhādyaka* edited by Mrs. Bina Chatterjee Vol. 1 p. 73 and Vol. II p. 177.
15. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, III, 1.

16. Ibid, II, 20-22.
17. Ibid, I, 13 and 33.
18. Ibid, I, 26.
19. Ibid, XXI, 37-39.
20. *Brāhmasphuṭasiddhānta*, edited by R. S. Sharma and others, Vol. II, pp. 42, 45, 65.
21. *Bṛhatsaṃhitā* with Bhaṭṭotpala's commentary edited by S. Dvivedi, pp. 26, 33, 34.
22. Al-Bīrūnī's India Vol. II, p. 54.
23. Ibid, Vol I p. 353.
24. Ibid, Vol. II. pp 26, 34, 45.
25. Ibid, Vol. I, p. 158.
26. Thorndike, Annals of Science, (1951) *7*, 275-283 and O. Neugebauer and Olaf Schmidt, Annals of Science, (1952) *8*, 221-228.

VEDA AND UNIVERSAL CULTURE

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What is Saṁskṛti ?

It is not at all easy to define the word *Saṁskṛti*, which is used to convey the sense of culture and civilization Nobody has ever scientifically defined *Saṁskṛti*. It is also necessary to distinguish *Saṁskṛti* from *Dharma*. In ancient Indian literature the word *Dharma* stands for *Saṁskṛti*. The word *Saṁskṛti*, therefore, is enough to create some initial confusion in the average mind.

The word *Saṁskṛti* does not occur in Sanskrit literature, Vedic or post-Vedic. The word *Dharma* is used and in fact the old Indian literature hardly recognises any distinction between *Dharma* and *Saṁskṛti* *Saṁskṛti* is a modern coinage in the sense of culture.

The Vedic and the post-Vedic literature, on the other hand, uses freely the term *Saṁskāra* or *Saṁskṛta*. The meaning, however, is not identical throughout.

Word Saṁskṛta and Saṁskāra occuring in Vedic literature :

Following are the places where the words *Saṁskāra* and *Saṁskṛta* occur in the *Ṛgveda* and the *Brāhmaṇa* etc.

1. *Ṛgveda*—

(a) न सं॑स्कृतं प्र मि॑मीतो गमि॒ष्ठान्ति॑
न॒ नम॒श्विनोप॑स्तुत॒ेह । 5.76.2

सा०—संस्कृतं धर्मम् ।

(b) न ता अर्वा॑रे॒णुक॑काटो अश्नुते॒ न सं॑स्कृत॒त्र —
मुप॑यन्ति ता अभि । 6.28.4

सा०— संस्कृतत्रं विशसनादिसंस्कारं······ ।

(c) य उग्र ,सन्ननिं॑ष्टृतः स्थिरो रणा॑य संस्कृ॑तः ।
8.33.9

सा०—संस्कृतः अलंकृतः ।

(d) वायोरिन्द्रस्य निष्कृतम् 9-13-1
सा० —संस्कृतं पात्रं प्रति । निष्कृत संस्कृत

(e) सोमो देवानामुपयाति निष्कृतम् । 9.86.7
सा० —देवानां निष्कृत संस्कृतं स्थानमुपयाति उपगच्छति ।

2. *Brāhmaṇas*—

(i) शतपथब्राह्मण 1.1 4-10 (In the sense of purifying or preparing)

(ii) शतपथ ब्राह्मण 3.2.1.22 In the sense of a well trimmed horse.

वा० सा० — 4.34.

(4) *Chāndogyopaniṣad* 4.16.2

तयोरन्यतरां मनसा संस्करोति ब्रह्मा ।

पूर्वमीमांसासूत्र of जैमिनि

3.1.3 द्रव्य गुण संस्कारेषु बादरिः ।
3.2.15 स्विष्टकृद्वदुभयसंस्कारः स्यात् ।
3.8.3 संस्कारास्तु पुरुषसामर्थ्ये यथावेदं कर्मवद् व्यवतिष्ठेरन् ।
9.2 9 संस्कारश्चाप्रकरणे ग्निवत्स्यात् प्रयुक्तत्वात् ।
9.3.26 तादर्थ्याद्वा तदाख्यं स्यात् संस्कारैरविशिष्टत्वात् ।
9.4.33 संस्कार प्रतिवेधश्च तद्वत् ।
9.4.50 संस्कारं प्रति भावाच्च तस्मादप्यप्रधानं स्यात् ।
9.4.54 प्रवृत्तेर्यज्ञहेतुत्वात् प्रतिवेधे संस्काराणामकर्म स्यात्······
10.1.11 अपि वा शेषभूतत्वात् तत्संस्कार प्रतीयेत ।
10.2.49 यदि तु वचनात्तेषां जपसंस्कारमर्थलुप्तं सेष्टि तदर्थत्वात ।
10.1.2 अपि वाऽभिधानसंस्कारद्रव्यमर्थे क्रियेत तादर्थ्यात् ।
6.1.35 संस्कारस्य तदर्थत्वात् विद्यायां पुरुषश्रुतिः ।

The word conveys the sense (i) shaving in 3.8.3 and 10.2.49 (ii) sprinkling in 9.3.25 and (iii) उपनयन in 6.1.35

In fact it is needless to give the list as it has been already set forth in धर्मकोष-संस्कारकाण्ड Vol. III, Part I.

The word *Saṁskṛta* is found in the Vedas and Brāhmaṇas in the sense of 'purified' or 'prepared'.

The word Saṁskāra means a ceremony or a set of ceremonies which consecrates human body or prepares human body by removing its impurities for the achievement of higher goal in life. Though,

the word saṁskāra is designated Śarīra by Manu still the commentator points out that it is a metaphorical use.

कार्यं शरीरसंस्कारः पावनः प्रेत्य चेह च । मनु० २.२६

शरीर शब्दोऽत्र अजहत्स्वार्थलक्षणया तत्कारणेऽपि वर्तते ।

Thus here the term body includes the sense of the embodied spirit. The ceremonies and rituals are actually performed by the body but they are calculated to purify and consecrate the spirit living in the body by the removal of impurities

संस्कारो हि नाम संस्कार्यस्य गुणाधानेन वा स्यात्
दोषापनयनेन वा । ब्र० सू० शां० भा० 1.1.4
प्रत्यक्षं हि स्नानाचमनादेर्देह समवायित्वम् ।
तथा देहाश्रयया तत्सहत इव कश्चिदविद्ययात्मत्वेन
परिगृहीतः संस्क्रियते इति युक्तम् ।
ब्र० सू० शां० भा० 1.1.4

Psychologically speaking every one identifies One's 'Self' with the body. Naturally the act done by the body produces result on the inner soul who associates himself with the body. Therefore the शरीरसंस्कार is जीवात्मसंस्कार too. Human body is so to say a catalytic agent (in terms of chemistry) without which goal of human life cannot be achieved. The notion that the body is the means to the end is quite Vaidika. For example

अदो यद्दारू प्लवते सिन्धोः पारे अपूरुषम् ।
तदा रमस्व दुर्हणो तेन गच्छ परःतरम् ॥ ऋ० 10.155.3

Pandit Satawalekar translates as follows :—

हे जे अपौरुषेय (दैवी शरीररूपी) लाकूड या समुद्राच्या तीरावर तरंगत आहे. दुर्दम्य स्तोत्या. तूं त्याचा आश्रय कर आणि परताराला जा. (पुरुषार्थ-श्री गणेशांक)

Eight spiritual qualities of sacraments are emphasised by *Gautama Dharma Sūtra*. (8.21)

अष्टौ आत्मगुणा :

1. दया सर्वभूतेषु —Compassion towards all (हितचिन्तनम्)
2. क्षान्तिः —Forbearing attitude (बाह्याभ्यन्तरद्वन्द्व सहिष्णुतां)
3. अनसूया —absence of jealousy (गुणवतामुपरि प्रपेषाभावः)
4. शौचम् —Purity (द्रव्यादि शौचम्)
5. अनायासः —griefiessness (आत्मपीडानारम्भः)

9मङ्गलम् —Auspiciousness (प्रशस्तम्)

7. अकार्पण्यम् —strong will-power (आपदि अपि अदीनता सविभाग-रुचित्वम्)

8. अस्पृहा —want of greediness (विषयसंतोष: परद्रव्यानभिलाष:)

यस्यैते चत्वारिंशत्संस्कारा:, न च अष्टौ आत्मगुणा:, न स ब्रह्मण: सायुज्यं सालोक्यं च गच्छति ।

यस्य तु खलु संस्काराणामेकदेशोऽपि, अष्टौ आत्मगुणा अथ स ब्रह्मण: सायुज्यं सालोक्यं च गच्छति ।

From this passage it becomes evident that Gautama insists on the spiritual development which is an upward process helped by the sacraments finally culminating into enlightenment.

These internal evidences are enough to asertain the prevailing dominance of the notion of sacraments in Vedic times. It is true that the references only emphasise more or less the functional aspect of *Saṁskāras*. They do not however define *Saṁskṛti*, which is a modern idea born out of a comparative study of cultures existing in different parts of the globe. When we use the term Indian culture we do so in comparison with Western culture. The East and West must have some points of similarity. The points of dissimilarity too are equally important. It is the difference which constitutes distinctive personality of Indian Culture

Definition of Saṁskṛti is a knotty problem :

The term *Saṁskṛti* presents great difficulty when one tries to define it, because :

(1) The term *saṁskṛti*, as already stated, is conspicuous by its absence in the entire Sanskrit literature, Vedic and post-Vedic.

(2) In ancient India no distinction was made between *Dharma* and *Saṁskṛti*.

(3) There was felt no necessity for admitting an independent conception of Saṁskṛti and the Vedic *Saṁskṛti* was the only known Saṁskṛti in ancient times.

(4) And the Vedic Dharma was all-embracing and universal in character.

(5) The notion of culture severed from that of *Dharma* has been never defined by any philosopher—Eastern and Western—though the word continues to be used profusely.

(6) Civilization is "what we have" and culture is "what we are". Culture, again is selective. It is therefore necessary to define *Saṁskṛti* in the light of the above discussion. The Vedic culture has its own personality and distinction and therefore it should not and could not be understood or judged by means of Western standard.

An attempt has been made to offer a definition of this word as accurately as possible by the late Aprabuddha.

As stated above the Vedic religion was universal. Are there grounds to suppose so ?

The universal character of Vedic religion and Culture.

The following evidences point to the conclusion that Vedic religion was prevalent all over the globe.

1. An inscription in Egypt dated 1280 B.C. contains terms of a treaty between Rameses II and Hittites. The name Rameses resembles Rāma, the incarnation of Viṣṇu. (H.R. Hall's "Ancient History of the Near East", page 364).

2. The names of places on the eastern coast of south Africa have affinities with that of Rāma.

3. In North Africa, according to geologists, the desert called Sahara is dried up bed of an ocean. They furthei say that when Sahara was under water there were people around its shore who bore Sanskrit names. Some of them were deemed to be related to the Lord Kosala. (*Encyclopaedia Britanica,* Vol. XXIII).

In sound and pronunciation the word Sahārā has great affinity with the sanskrit word sāgara.

4. Even now the people celebrate a festival called Rāmasītā in far off Mexico which sychronizes with the Indian Daśarā festival.

Moreover, the idols of Gaṇeśa were found in the excavations of that country. The ancient inhabitants of that part were called Azettes which is corruption of Sanskrit word Āstikas.

5. In South-West America, in Peru, the inhabitants were Sun-worshippers. They were known as *Incas. Ina* means the sun in Sanskrit.

6. A kind of dance still prevalent in central Australia is called "Siva's dance". The dancers appear to have painted a third eye on their forehead. (*The native tribes of Central Australia*—by Spencer and Gillen, Page 621—Figures 128 and 129).

7. In Java there are numerous relics of Hindu cult and worship.

From all these evidences we find that one thing is certain, namely, Vedic Dharma was prevalent and was the only known Dharma in the entire globe.

The ancient Indian Culture survived even in the most dangerous events in the past. *The reasons for survival are* these :—

(1) The Indian social pattern is so clearly designed that the higher classes are never completely extinguished.

(2) The ultimate object of the institution of marriage was to generate intelligentia and heros.

(3) Procreation of male child was regarded the first means to redeem oneself from the ancestral debt.

(4) Knowledge, learning and scholarship were considered first in fixing the social status of man. Consequently विद्वान् सर्वत्र पूज्यते became the motto of Indians. The class of the learned could not and should not be penalised or victimised. This class was always aloof from political influences.

(5) The biological inheritance and social inheritance are equally essential to the maintenance of cultural pattern. The ancient Indian seers were proficient in these sciences and they framed the laws to serve the purpose.

It is very strange that the Gypsies retain Indian traits though they have fully forgotten their ancestry. Similarly Indonesia has remained essentially Hindu and Indian even after its being formally converted to Islam in the recent several centuries and even against the Chinese pressure.

Indian culture, which has thus demonstrated its vitality in foreign lands even after their contact with India had ceased, has, naturally more strongly operated its forces in its original land of India where it becomes part and parcel of every walk of life.

Vedic culture is scientifically based

The most significant and essential aspect of the Vaidika culture is that it has a scientific foundation. It is not an outcome of environment. It is not an accident. But it is systematic, constitutional Universal. Sublimity, spirituality and such other elements are combined in the conception of Indian culture.

"Every thing tending to peace and well-being of society has been long since reduced by the Hindus to well-ordered rules. We have very little to teach them in matters of social philosophy. Any introduction among them of our crude ideas can only result in mischief and tend to bring the Hindus the same chaotic scramble of antagonistic interest which is the characteristic of our own disgraceful muddle". Similarly Gerald Heard observes in his "Is God evident ?" :

"Final and most helpful fact is that Sanskrit cosmology not only gets rid of intellectual difficulties such as the crude Hebrew Geology and astrology fossilized in the Christian dogmas, but it gets rid likewise of those more serious moral difficulties such as eternal damnation, predestination and that this life is man's only chance".

The question of the antiquity of the culture and the problems of ethnological cross-breeds may not detract us from framing a positive idea of culture.

The real questions in the present circumstances are :

1. What is the real import of what we call Indian culture ?
2. Is it possible to maintain it in the existing environment ?
3. Is it desirable and possible too to reconcile it with the spirit of the present age ?
4. Has it at all such and sufficient value to deserve to be maintained at any cost ?

These are truly the questions which arrest our attention. But unfortunately the term culture is misused only to set quarrels between groups the ethnoloical like the Aryan and the Dravidian, the linguistic and so on, all of which are in reality bound together by the still higher principles of life here and in the here after. Moreover, cultural problems are to be tackled with reference to the study of basic cultural principles and not merely on the strength of cultural analogies. It also happens that we accept blindly sciences like ethnology and their propositions without caring much whether we really understand them. The discussion on Dravidian culture need not detain us only on the ground of ethnology. Fibres in a body make glands of different sizes according to their respective functions and yet one and the same vital sap penetrates through them all. Culture is such a vital sap running through all of us. So far as the internal evidence of the Vedic literature is conerned we can definitely conclude that in the age of the Vedas there was no other powerful culture which could be regarded as different and distinct from the Vedic culture. The Vedic culture remained the same and was neither influenced nor reacted on by other forces.

The outstanding features of Indian culture may be summed up as below :—

(1) The Vaidika *saṁskṛti* is scientific in the true sense of the term. It is a constitutional and a systematic order and not accidental.

(2) The Vaidika Saṁskṛti is all-embracing, comprehensive, with broad perspective.

(3) It is a deductive structure and not an inductive one. Culture reflected in the Vedic literature never belonged to the inductive stage. This point has failed to strike eminent Vedic scholars.

(4) The Vedic culture cannot be supposed to have developed outside India.

(5) The outstanding element of Vedic Culture is that it cannot be decided or defined without the background of Vedic cosmology.

(6) Again, the ancient Vedic culture is deemed to be perfect in so far as it contains a philosophy capable of satisfying the most highly developed reason, and because it has a cosmology not conflicting with but perfectly reconciling a highly advanced science with the above two.

Etymologically the word *Saṁskṛti* has two components, namely *Saṁ* (सम्) and *kṛ* (कृ). *Saṁskāra* is similarly derived. The prefix *saṁ* means 'to synthesize'. The sixteen principal sacraments are intended to synthesize. The idea is to connect new life with the transcendental extra-sensory powers in the Universe through the prescribed rituals. The power which such an experiment has for improving and enhancing the ability of person concerned is due to this synthesizing.

According to Śaṅkarācārya the starting point of all inquiring is one's own self. As soon as man started thinking of "I" within himself, a trinity presented before him : (a) What is this "I"? (b) How is this "I" related to the world ? (c) What is the nature of external world ? Man's real existence is moulded by three forces viz. -thinking, feeling and willing. There is a current of human thought, sentiment and action, eternal fundamental and immutable, which persists despite superficial transitions. This fundamental current is called *Saṁskṛti*. There is some fundamental faith with regard to the above three things in human mind and whatever changes man may undergo, the texture of his behaviour is woven, as it were, around his faith about these three things.

In order to define *Saṁskṛti* it is necessary to see the Vedic attitude towards man. Man can never forget that he is the Divine Spark; ममैवांशो जीवलोके जीवभूतः सनातनः । Secondly, Man can attain this Divinity; he can of course easily kill it. Thirdly, the attainment of Divinity which is another name for Perfection is the Supreme Realisation. Fourthly, he cannot realise this so long as he is not liberated from human passions, greed, lust and all other chains of bonds. And finally now, death is not the end of reality but it is the beginning of a greater and more significant reality.

The following may be enunciated as the basic principles of Vedic Culture ;

(1) This manifested world was born out of an unmanifested principle. (2) This manifested world abides by certain canons and

recedes into the unmanifested stage by virtue of and in order of the same canons. (3) Man is an entity in a particular stage of the process of manifestation and he cannot have the knowledge, in its entireness, of all the manifested world in his present stage.

(4) However, man alone is capable of ascertaining and discerning the mystic truth, after having undergone a discipline which is a pre-requisite condition for getting himself qualified for such an acquirement.

(5) There are two spheres of man, in the manifested world, as at present constituted viz. manifest and unmanifest.

(6) These two spheres are not absolutely independent but an intercommunication exists between them. Man can enjoy this communion through sacrifice and *yoga* as described by the *Gītā* :

देवान् भावयतानेन ते देवा भावयन्तु वः ।
परस्परं भावयन्तः श्रेयः परमवाप्स्यथ ।। ३. ।।

(6) The sphere which is beyond the reach of human organs of senses is impalpable. It is characterised by different planes of existence ranged according to the different degrees of density of basic elements. Hence the necessity of *yoga* to establish connection with them.

(7) Human body is perishable but Human Being is eternal and imperishable. The Vedic outlook is so gracefully optimistic that it assures man to reach the goal in future. Man's endeavour or his memory never sinks into oblivion.

(8) Though dependent on perishable body the Power of speech— *Vāk* —is divine in origin and has Creative Power. The efficiency of Creative Power of Speech, however, depends upon the mechanism of body. The manifestation of speech, therefore, varies according to the degree of capacity of the mechanism.

9. Man, therefore, can achieve the purpose and can merge into perfection after having completely torn the clothes of imperfect element, provided he adopts means not contrary to the Śastraic instructions.

The Indian culture is non-individualistic. It does not advocate man as the measure of all things. It asserts that man is only a component of the Universe. Indian culture considers man and universe as a composite whole. Therefore it is wrong to say that Indian Culture is anti-individualistic. Man is not zoon-politicon but zoon-cosmicon.

Man is not the measure of all things. But he is the supreme consideration. The attribute of the soul is culture and it ought to be distinguished from civilization. Civilization is the advancement

in technology while culture is something more than and different from this.

One of the wonders, rather the greatest wonder of the world is the Human Being.

'Numberless are the World's Wonders,
but none
More wonderful than man..................'
Cries the chorus in the great ode of Antigone.

The astonishing fact is that, with all their perpetual endeavour to study the organisms, physiological and biochemical homeo-stasis do not, however, account for all the processes through which man's organism responds adaptively. The world is still ignorant of how these unknowns operate. Perhaps it will never find out.

The astonishing fact, according to modern American scientists, is that organisms have somehow learned the methods of maintaining constancy and keeping steady in the presense of conditions which might reasonably be expected to prove profoundly disturbing. Human Being is obviously an unsolved riddle. The ancient seers of the Vedas fully realised the importance of human body. They knew well the limitations of the same. Human being is not, according to them, merely a material object or biological product. Human Being is the supreme consideration according to Indian view. —

गुह्यं ब्रह्म तदिदं ब्रवीमि
न हि मानुषात् श्रेष्ठतरं हि किञ्चित् ॥
महाभारत, शान्तिपर्व १८०-१२

I will now give the definition of *Saṁskṛti* as given by the late Shri V.K. Palekar alias Aprabuddha :

$$\text{Culture} = \frac{\text{Philosophy} + \text{Cosmological concepts}}{\text{Mundane Life}}$$

There are three aspects of human quests :—

i. Man tries to obtain all possible knowledge about the Universe so as to convert this knowledge into power in the scientific sense and to make this every-day-life as happy as possible.

ii. Man tries to understand those things also which do not fall within the reach of organs of senses.

iii. Man, again, tries to know what will happen to Himself and to the external world around him. He desires to find out his role in the whole picture.

The above equation would make it clear that the cultures of different human groups widely differ because of the differences in the value of the elements of the numerator and the denominator.

Philosophy, cosmological concept and Mundane life, these three factors ought to develop and advance in harmony and coherence. If they develop as if divorced from each other there will be no harmony between the numerator and the denominator. Because that will be the stage of induction. But the Vedic Culture represents the stage of deduction and this is the only reason why the Vedic culture has outlived all impediments and destructive forces. This is the distinctive personality of Vedic culture. It is therefore wrong to judge Vedic culture in comparison with Western ideals and Western philosophy. Because the Westerners do not possess a really advan ed and definite cosmology and further they are not able to reconcile the seemingly advanced philosophy with the inconsistencies of the seemingly advanced mundane life. Nor have they had at any time the idea that the relation between philosophy and cosmology on the one hand and the wisdom of mundane life on the other is really that of the numerator and denominator.

THE CONTRIBUTION OF THE ŚUKLA YAJURVEDA TO THE CULTURE OF INDIA *

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I

The academic research of recent years brought to light the importance of Veda in its varied aspects. Cultural aspect is one which attracted the attention of scholars with interest and zeal. An evaluation of Vedic richness in this direction raised the place of India before the nations of the world. No doubt each nation boasts of its own literature, culture, etc. and India could not be an exception.

ṚV and AV drew a great deal of attention even in the aspect of culture. YV, however, is unfortunately relegated to a corner because of an impression that YV is full of sacrificial details. But my personal study of the YV has convinced me that YV is in no way less important for gleaning the cultural details of our country of that period.[1]

Sacrifice is the subject matter of the YV. Sacrifice is a worship of various deities with various offerings. Sacrifice thus is a religio-social activity commanding the co-operation of people of all classes. It is, therefore, an important institution which brings people nearer whereby there could be an interflow of cultural contacts. Therefore YV forms a most interesting chapter in the aspect of knowing the cultural history of India. No doubt, attempts[2] are there even recently to sketch the history and heritage of Vedic culture of India, but they are not complete.

YV is divided into two branches, *Kṛṣṇa* and *Śukla*. These names[3] justify the contents and character of the branches of the YV. ŚYV is later while KYV is earlier in respect of date and other considerations. ŚYV is available in two recensions. But it is interesting to observe that they are identical except for verbal

variations and arrangement[4]. Therefore, whenever VS is referred to, the two recensions are implied in the discussion below. The present paper is however based on the VS of the ŚYV only.

ṚV is pervasive. Later *Saṁhitās* of Veda contain several *mantras* in common with ṚV, sometimes with AV also. In this connection ŚYV is no exception. VS contains 1975 Kaṇḍikās in all. It is found out that the VS contains more than 900 Kaṇḍikās which are not traceable to the ṚV or AV. This particular portion forms what is special to the VS. The contribution of the ŚYV Saṁhitā in particular lies in this portion. Thus all aspects of Veda which are referred to in this portion would form the contribution of the ŚYV to the culture and other aspects of ancient India. In fact Yājñavalkya who is responsible for the ŚYV did fulfil his challenge[5] to the KYV.

II

A. *RELIGION — CULTURE*

Religion is culture for it holds the humanity in order and security. On the contrary, to be irreligious or to have no religion at all is not culture because the result might be chaos and confusion, paucity of safety and security. Probably realising this, religion formed part and parcel of a human personality. RV propounded religion for Man. YV continued and developed the same to him extending the scope of religion. YV prescribed twelve[6] or more sacrifices with a view to ensure hope and happiness for man. However, in the garb of sacrifice YV taught many characteristics of culture.

Sacrifice and its performance expect a strict adherence to various events and situations. It also needs tolerance, faith and belief in the performance. The activity involves deities, priests, sacrificer and other accessories. The culture warranted in this respect, strict faith in the rites, is much for the participants of sacrifice. A few examples may be stated. At a sacrifice, the difference in social status diminishes and all become equal before the feet of God. This is the culture, one should abide by YV meant it.

Further various other auxiliary rites like *Dīkṣā*, *Ātithyeṣṭi*, etc. mark the remarkable religious discipline and culture warranted therein. The expressions *cidasi manasi*.........(4.19) addressing Soma-cow, ... *purūravāsi* (VS 5.2) addressing the araṇi, etc. which are metaphors, reveal the aesthetic sense implied in the poets or devotees towards the objects. A sacrificer and a priest are not

independent and realistic. They should be conscious that they are acting in the place of Gods, who held already certain assigned portfolios, in respect of the sacrifice. Thus sacrifice is a divine function wherein all that is felt is represented There are several passages[7] which remind one of the respective deities for such even in the sacrifice. Even in respect of dealing with the situations wherein pecuniary transactions prevail, it is done most respectfully and with piety. This could, for example, be seen in the *Somakrayaṇa* event of the *Agniṣṭoma*. Religious culture recommended expiation as remedy for acts and rites which involved mistakes shortcomings or slips. This emphasises an ethical principle and also the necessity that the performance must be done with absolute correctness and perfection.

Priests also seized occasions to exhibit their knowledge of sacrifice. More can be shown elsewhere. They show themselves that they are fully convinced of their behaviour and practices while at sacrifice. Priest, moreover, is a mediator between a deity and devotee for sacrificial purposes. But deity directly acts to bless the devotee after this mediation.

KYV is rigid, while ŚYV is not so. ṚV contains prayers. YV is rather different. YV emphasised sacrifice to be a 'be all and end all' and created a hope that nothing is impossible with devotion and propitiation of deities. The result of sacrifice was the attainment of *Svarga* and fulfilment of various desires.

A glance through the curriculum of rites and sacrifices convinces one that the YV has much to impress upon as the aspect of culture of religion. In fact Winternitz pointed out already that YV would form an important chapter in the history of prayer and worship in India.

Culture of Religion thus held the order of the Society in tact. The various deities too received due importance.

B. SOCIETY—CULTURE

Macdonell observed[8] that "YV would present brighter conditions in regard to society compared to the ṚV". It may be added that ŚYV substantiates such an assessment of his, although made by him cursorily in the course of a work of general nature.

There are about seven chapters in the VS which enable us to understand the set up of the Society of that period. The Society and conditions, however, seemed to be planned, promoting happiness of humankind.

Culture manifests itself in various forms. Knowledge is a feature thereof. From the geographical angle, VS mentions several trees, plants, birds, animals, etc., which are peculiar and some of which remain yet unidentified. Division of time and stages of life seem to be clearly defined in the VS.

Chapter Sixteen and Thirty of the VS suggest the improved social organisation of that time. When ṚV mentioned four castes. YV added a fifth one viz,. *caṇḍāla*. 'Untouchability' prevailed in the VS ; the utensils made by the members of the other caste were purified when they were accepted for use in sacrifice. However no rigid barriers were there and there was co-operation and unity among all classes of the people.

Social conditions were fair in the ŚYV. ṚV did not see such smoothness. ŚYV is, therefore, an improved situation in this respect.

The family ties and relations were laudable and proverbial, even a daughter claimed a share along with her brother. The term '*bhaginī*' meaning daughter is peculiar to YV. ṚV contained references to daughters who remained unmarried in their parents' home. Indeed it was a social problem. ŚYV, however, does not repeat a situation like that because daughters were married duly and thus the problem came to be minimised. Usually the priority of age, among brothers and sisters, for matrimonial affairs or purposes was followed. But in ŚYV, we find a distortion of the same. As a result, there appeared certain new terms of relationship like *parivitti*, *parivettā*, etc. ŚYV seems to have allowed a break of such order among brothers and sisters, probably in view of changing social conditions.

Woman in the VS definitely enjoyed a different privilege than that in ṚV. Usually she became a housewife. She was of help to society by adopting certain vocational enterprises. This improved the system, viz. division of labour in society, and bettered the economic situation.

A woman was respected in her capacity as a devoted wife and mother (of a son). Man also enjoyed respect and privilege when he was married.

But tendencies among women to exploit their sex and its attraction for other advantages were also in vogue. She chose bad ways. She chose even a temporary life of being an object of pleasure for men. Among men too, there were paramours,

Standard of morality in the ŚYV was generally fair but for few cases, where barriers for chastity were broken even by those ladies who were wedded[9]. The punishment for such loose women was the sorrow and satisfaction of the concerned husband. No serious punishment for this seems to be available from the ŚYV Saṁhitā. Religious culture of the people, however, demanded confession before Lord Varuṇa, since it was viewed as a sin.

More crimes are mentioned in ŚYV, especially in Chapter Sixteen. All precautions were taken to prevent and punish crimes and criminals whose number appeared to be comparatively high. Homicide, suicide etc. were among the serious crimes mentioned in the ŚYV. Mostly religious rites and prayers for deities formed the preventive measures for such a situation. Crime was sin. It was thus a calamity which people helped to obviate.[10]

The country was in charge of a King whose prosperity was rooted in the people.[11] Rather it could be described that people had a say on the King in case he swerved from Dharma. There are in the ŚYV several terms and expressions which connote political concepts and political consciousness. There was peace, reciprocity and co-operation between the ruler and the ruled. No signs of tyranny or despotism could be discovered in the ŚYV.

The state economy was rich and balanced. The human intelligence was utilised to make life as convenient and comfortable as possible. People travelled and sailed. *ŚYV*, refers to the desire of man to fly (*patema*). It is doubtful, however, whether it was done at all during that time.

Compared to the ṚV, "a great many trade and vocations are enumerated......" in the ŚYV. Chapter Thirty of the VS suggests all that. Several types of food grains are mentioned in the VS which are not done so in the ṚV. This suggests the improved agricultural situation at that time.

ŚYV was not all along a text dealing with sacrifices only. People enjoyed their leisure[12] to their satisfaction. Several games, sports, musical concerts, dance, etc. are mentioned in the VS. In respect of Dance, men also practised the art and attained certain amount of skill in ú. Pole-dancing is one such unique achievement of men of YV. ṚV refers to dancers as mostly maidens. But YV refers to men also as practising that ait. Song was popular. The term *gīta* that denoted song is mentioned in the (Ś)YV.

As mentioned earlier Knowledge denotes the culture of an individual or even a nation. There were people inquisitive in its pursuit and qualified themselves. Learned men had their own

meetings and councils. They enjoyed indeed quite an eventful time in testing one's own depth of knowledge and learning. Riddles[13] found in the VS are examples.

The Science of Medicine was pursued. Knowledge of diseases and cure for the same could be found in the VS. Several diseases are mentioned. Also deformation of body due to abnormalities is mentioned.

Knowledge of human and animal anatomy was well up at that time. More than forty parts of human body are named and mentioned. Likewise more than about 121 parts of animal (Horse) body are enumerated. ŚYV exhibits better knowledge in this regard because KYV does not contain such an elaborate enumeration. That is, the TS of the KYV contains names of only hundred parts of the animal enumerated. Moreover, from such enumeration, it can be inferred that there were quite sharp and expert instruments too available for separating the parts from body for the purpose of sacrifice.

Ayuta (10000) is the highest integer suggested in the ṚV. But *Parārdha* (1000, 000, 000, 000) is the highest integer suggested in the VS[14].

Several other aspects could thus be pointed out from the ŚYV contributing to the culture of India. One can see from the above discussion that ŚYV represents a stage of advancement. Castes were not only established but they intermingled. Woman enjoyed a freer life than is usual of her. Macdonell thus seems to be relevant in observing "the people of the YV wear an aspect essentially differing from those revealed to us in the Hymns of ṚV.[15]"

C. *PHILOSOPHY AND CULTURE*

ŚYV has its own distinct contribution to this aspect of culture of India. Philosophy, in general, is understood as the pursuit of truth and enquiry into the mysteries of life here and hereafter.

A study of various kinds of desires at different levels expressed on various occasions of sacrifice are interesting, to know the mind and culture at that time. The desires refer to the physical benefits and spiritual upliftment. However, all these culminate in happiness only. The various dialogues and *brahmodyas* evidenced in the VS contribute to this end. The priests and the ladies entertain dialogues as a part of sacrificial situation. *Aśvamedha Yajña*, for example, warrants a situation of that order. ŚYV contains more dialogue—*kaṇḍikās* than KYV, whereby the scope of the ŚYV become wider. As a result more time is allowed for such symbolic rites in the sacrifice.

The idea of sin and virtue which is the bedrock of all religions and which began originally from ṚV, found an outlet into a wider field through the YV[16], the ŚYV in particular. The nature and character and certain other details regarding this idea are found in the YV. Moreover, it was observed that the idea assumed sizes and complexity in the ŚYV.

ṚV contains certain mystic syllables which found a place of importance in later Tantrism. YV, however, contains a few more like *phaṭ*, *om*, etc.

ŚYV viewed life optimistic, thus continuing the attitude of the ṚV. ŚYV considered life to be glorious both here and in the hereafter. VS inculcated the need for '*control over mind*' for any advancement and success. Prayer, however, was an inevitable means for the same. *Atithipūjā*, *Ahiṁsā*, etc. were the principles observed for the satisfaction of God and the winning of His blessings. ŚYV elaborates this means and emphasises its importance.

The *Rudrādhyāya* (Ch. 16) and the *Camakādhyāya* (Ch. 18) are the two remarkable sections of the VS contributing to its cultural importance[17].

VS contains the genesis showing the beginnings of Upaniṣadic thought. *Annam*, *śarīramīmāṁsā*, *jīva*, *transmigration*, *aham*, *mokṣa*, power of knowledge, etc. are some of the concepts found in the VS which received importance and detailed treatment in the later systems of philosophy. A great deal of information could be found on the concept of Supreme Being (*Puruṣa*). *Īśopaniṣad* of the VS is rather an invaluable contribution to the culture of philosophy of India.

So far the thought aspect of our culture was discussed. In fact for such academic purposes, the ŚYV is more helpful than KYV. The *Bṛhadāraṇyakopaniṣad* of the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* is also remarkable for philosophy. It will not be an exaggeration if it is said that without these two Upaniṣads of ŚYV, Īśā and Bṛhad., Indian Philosophy would be poorer.

III

In respect of the history of society, culture, etc. of India, ŚYV is important. It is modelled after the manner of the ṚV. In fact ŚYV did absorb the culture of ṚV and made a further contribution. As a result ŚYV boasts of a place of importance in sketching the culture and heritage of India as such.

'tasya yajureva śiraḥ'

ABBREVIATIONS :
1 Ṛgveda : ṚV
2 Yajurveda : YV
3 Samaveda : SV
4 Atharvaveda : AV
5 Kṛṣṇa YV : KYV
6 Śukla YV : ŚYV
7 Footnote : FN
8 Vājasaneya Saṁhitā : VS.

NOTES

* I owe my thanks to Dr. C. G. *Kashikar*, Poona (My Research Guide) for his useful suggestions.

1. Prabhakar C. L. "*Śukla Yajurveda : A study*". (unpublished) Thesis submitted to the Poona University, 1968.

 (b) Also Prabhakar C. L. "yajurveda and its importance"— SUMA, Bangalore, 1970.

2. e.g. Satyavrat "Heritage of Vedic Culture in India", Bombay, 1969.

3. Prabhakar C. L. "On the names of the YV, BV", Bombay, 1968.

4. Prabhakar C. L. "The Recensions of the ŚYV" SP. A. 10 C. XXVth Session, Calcutta. Full paper under Press.

5. Refer FN. 3.

6. Darśapūrṇamāsa to Pravargya covering twelve sacrifices. This is the scope of the VS.

7. e. g. "*devasya tvā savituḥ prasave aśvinoḥ bāhubhyām pūṣṇo hastābhyām* ..."

8. Macdonell, *A History of Sanskrit Literature.*

9. VS 23.31.32.

10. Prayers like VS 18.31.32 etc.

11. *viśi rājā pratiṣṭhitaḥ*. VS
12. Prabhakar C. L. "Entertainment in the YV", Sp. AIOC, Varanasi, 1968. Full paper under press.
13. Refer Ludwig, German translation of ṚV.
14. Cf. Zimmer "Altindisches Leben".
15. Same as F. N. 8.
16. Prabhakar C. L. "The idea of Pāpa and Punya in the YV" and "The idea of Pāpa and Punya in the RV". (in print)
17. Prabhakar C. L. "Rudra in the YV". QJMS. Bangalore 1968.

MANU AND THE MODERN WORLD

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The word Manu is usually associated with his Dharma Śāstra, which is wrongly translated as the *Law of Manu* or the *Code* of *Manu* There is nothing legal or judicially binding in the Śāstra. It is an exposition of the fundamental principles which should guide the life of the creatures known as *Mānavas*, endowed with the faculty of mind (*manas*). When philologically analysed, the expression means the science (śāstra) of integration (dharma) of the human beings (manus). Here a distinction is implied between integration or organisation of human beings as distinct from that of sub-human orders of life. Let us take a few illustrations to bring out the point. A large quantity of building materials may be lying about on a plot of land till eternity, without any value or use for it, unless that material is put together into a house when its usefulness and value emerge. This, it may be remarked parenthetically, is the significance of the contribution of man. But let us go on. Take a house in which numerous articles of furniture, utensils, cupbords for clothes etc, are placed in perfect order, but they donot constitute an interactive organism in which they affect each other. There is no communication between them. Physical proximity does not constitute *dharma* or integration. Let us take an example from life. Even here, a well knit and organised unit does not represent *dharma*, In a hive of bees, there are workers, watchers, nectar-gatherers, rulers. But their organisation is not planned, conceived or carried out on mental basis. It is hereditary or instinctive. It is not cultural achievement as the building of a house. The latter implies knowledge of engineering, acquired through mental effort, conscious communicability, and is based on symbols.

The word Manu represents not a person but an office. There have been many Manus and names and numbers have been mentioned. It is maintained that each Manu is in charge of a *manvantara*

a vast cycle of time, guiding the destinies of human beings and civilisations.[1]

We now come to the words *Dharma Śāstra*, without which the word *Manu* by itself can have little significance. When understood as a treatise (śāstra) of integration, synthesis togetherness call it what we will, it cannot but cover the entire gamut[2] the physical experience of man, this vision of the cosmic universe embracing the terrestrial, organic, biological, psychological, ethnical, numerical, ethical, aesthetical and spiritual aspects of the human dharma. These are major segments or aspects of life and man has to come to terms with them through understanding and their interaction. Having outlined the task, the treatise plunges into a detailed discussion of every aspect of human existence, in parts or segments, and as an integrated whole. This is the main task of the *Dharma Śāstra* of Manu.

The book opens with the description of Nirguṇa Brahman, the Causeless Cause of the Universes, its division into Saguṇa Brahman and Mūlaprakṛti, and man's descent from these two aspects of the Divine Reality. It deals with the totality of human nature, the path of descent of the Divine and its ascent back to its original source, and with the human drama as but an interlude in the cosmic process. It deals with the empirical existence of man, his physical, psychic and spiritual endowments, but not forgetting the constitution of matter that forms his physical being. The interaction between the two, i.e. the physical and psychological (which also includes his affective nature) constitutes human personality. The identity between spirit, the Divine in man and matter, is studiously maintained. Conflict between the two is strictly eschewed, never accepted or acknowledged. The ultimate purpose of human goal, the merging into the Cosmic consciousness, "the drop merging in the ocean", is never lost sight of. In fact, the entire empirical existence is planned in the light of this ideal. It behoves us, humble mortals, then to attempt to get a grasp of the vast, cosmic consciousness and vision of Manu, the Great Ṛṣi, catch a glimpse of his Purpose and cooperate with Him, not with standing our limited faculties.

It is, perhaps, relevant to remark here that in attempting this task it will be necessary to dispense with the empirical method of interpretation of the *Dharma Śāstra* and the historical emphasis or Indological approach as developed in the west by Max Muller and his students and colleagues and turn the interpretation as given by

1. This subject is dealt with in detail in the author's larger work, *Manu Dharma Śāstra, A Sociological and Historical Analysis.* 1958.

2 See Chapter i, *Laws of Manu.* Buhler's translation in the *Sacred Books of the East Series.*

some of the leading esotericists of the world. Their names are not many : perhaps, a few leading ones may be recorded for the benefit of the reader. H. P. Blavatsky the great Russian Occultist, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the Founder of the Arya Samaj, and Sri Aurobindo in India and P. D. Guspensky of Russia, have rendered yeoman services to the cause of esoteric interpretation of Manu. To be sure, a great many philosophers and leaders of thought, have devoted their time and energy to the elucidation of the teachings of Manu, but the esoteric interpretation has come from only a few. This is not a subject of intellectual dilenttantism, but one on which the accumulated knowledge of man and the future of civilization depend.

In the text, there is an orderly procession of discussion of human nature, the psychic constituent element of the nature of matter constituting his body. *sattva*, *rajas*, and *tamas*, and the psychic factors constituting his consciousness, such as *Sat*, *Cit* and *Ānanda*, the interaction between the two in accordance with hereditary affiliations, past achievements and failures and the ultimate goal set in view (*karma*, *reincarnation* and puruṣārtha for the present life). We call this totality of various factors, under one blanket term, human personality, and this is in strong contrast with the western conception that concentrates its attention only on the interaction between heredity and environment.

Manu posits four types of human personality, easily classifiable into four groups. These are men of intellect, men of action, men of feeling or desire and the fourth, being unclassifiable into any of these three. These are *brāhmaṇas*, *kṣatriyas*, *vaiśyas* and *śūdras* mentioned in the text. The Brāhmaṇa, being a man of sattvic nature, is a priest, preacher and teacher of the group. The kṣatriya, being man of action, uses his brawn in defence of the entire nation from internal disruption and outer attack. The third group, that of vaiśya, is devoted to commerce, production and promotion of economy. The last, the śūdra, devotes himself to the physical needs of the society, and learns to rise through association with the three higher groups.

This is the social aspect of human life. But Manu goes in detail into the work and path of progress of the individual as well. During the first stage as a student, he must learn to yoke his mental faculties to hard study, conserve his physical energies through self-control and service of his teacher, eschew the life of luxury, realise the esoteric significance of the ritual handed down by the ancestors and prepare himself to continue the spiritual and cultural heritage of the group. As a family man, in the second stage of his life, he must earn a livelihood, support the family and other non-earning groups

of the social order, practise yoga and sacraments to discharge his debt to the ancient ṛṣis, his ancestors and human and the animal world. All along, he must study the sacred scriptures to keep reminding himself of his essential divinity and the divine nature of the universe. The third stage is that of the *vānaprastha*, one who has one foot in the forest and the other in the malestrom of social drama. Through accumulated experience, he should help the rising generation in civic and political matters and thus save them from the fatiguing process of trial and error. The last stage is that of *sanyāsa*, the man in whom all desire has ceased to exist, who has cultivated silence and is determined to prepare himself to face the Finale. With him the social hierarchy comes to an end. He is above all classification. He is mendicant by practice, he is above royalty.

But classification of individuals and groups into professional categories is not enough. Manu lays great stress on ethical preparation, along with professional efficiency, for each stage of the individual's life and preparation to rise to the next. The classification of individuals and formation of functional groups is intended to help both to transform their inborn propensities, transform their weaknesses and transcend them through appropriate training and thus keep ascending to the appointed goal of Supreme Bliss.

It is important and relevant at this point to emphasise the fact that it is not Manu's intention to create a rigid, inflexible social hierarchy in which the *Brāhmaṇa* is placed at the top of the ladder, while the *śūdra* is left to grovel at the bottom. We have to bear in mind the numerous factors that Manu has in mind in devising this type of social order. The mutability and multiplicity of human temperament, the hereditary changes and mutations, the ceaseless flux of the human temperament, the hereditary changes and mutations, the ceaseless flux of the human temperament to meet the challenge of time, the influence of karma in the life of man, the use of his free will, the change of *varṇa* and *āśrama* due to personal effort in one life time, the provision for castelessness of the individual who has risen to spiritual afflatus by force of his present effort and discipline, must confirm the view of the baselessness of the western charge on hierarchical inflexibility in Manu's teachings.

There are one or two other questions that need to be answered before we proceed further. It has always been asked, with a touch of mockery, "Did such a social order, as conceived by Manu ever exist ?" My submissioon based on study of sociology of knowledge and numerous utopias with which the west abounds, is that it did. Social knowledge is based on social fact ; without which it has no

basis, no body of reality. And if we take into consideration the various utopias, beginning with Plato's *Republic* and ending with Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* or Orwell's *1984*, or Aldous Huxley's the *Brave New World Revisted*, we shall, see quite clearly and convincingly that they deal, one and all, with situations as they exist today and, do not indulge in day dreams. Similarly, Manu's Dharma Yuga, the Age the Synthesis, the Golden Age of the Hindus, existed and in course of time, parts of it fell into disuse till we come to the last age of Kali, the present age of iron, smoke, mental and moral bleakness of the individual and the group.[3]

Nor can we forget that it is Manu's teachings that have been responsible for creation and continuity of India's ethnic virility, intellectual supremacy, a vast cultural empire in both south and south-east Asia, embracing Indonesia, Malayasia, Thailand, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, Indo-China, Phillipine Islands, China and Japan in the east and many countries in the west with which I shall deal presently. India's vast resources and wealth attracted alien invaders and the process of their amalgamation and assimilation was done in an orderly manner, so that the invaders became absorbed in India's politic and became sons of the soil, rather than strangers. Various ethnic groups have been absorbed into India's life, enriching the heredity of various communities and regions, the intellectual and spiritual heritage of the sons of the soil. It is the spirit of tolerance and nature of man as taught by Manu that have added to India's opulence in this direction. Through selective amalgamation, India retained her ethnic identity and viability, formed a bastion of cultural impenetrability kept the fundamentals of Indian ethos against alien antagonistic forces, and yet promoted the right type of admixture, giving to India a national identity that has defied death and decay. The history of her ancient contemporaries, going back to 5,000 B.C., lies buried in sand dunes. But India still lives and throbs with life and the continuity of her historic existence unbroken.

A brief history of the knowledge and impact of Manu on nations ancient and modern is worth recording[4]. Beginning with the Mohan-Jo-Daro and Harrappa we find evidences of life, with all its institutions, educational, social, political, akin to those described in Manu. A similar situation obtained in Sumeria, the contemporary

3. See *Sociology of Knowledge* edited by the author, now in the course of preparation.
4. A detailed account is given in the author's *Manu Dharma Shastra : A Sociological and Historical Analysis*, 1958, now out of print.

of Mohan-jo-Daro. The spirit of tolerance with which the various communities lived bears the impact of teachings higher than what the native teachers could have provided. The cosmogony, law, poetry, mythology bear close resemblance to those of her Indian contemporaries. The Sumerians were not aware of the deluge, but were conscious of the physical, biological and social organization and evolution as described in Manu. The word Manu came to be shortened to ME, representing the universal rhythm the working of the cosmos and the social life of man. The various institutions essential for human existence and social progress were well developed. Briefly, evidences of the impact of Manu's teachings on Sumerian life are abundant, as historians and archeologists have proved it to be.[5]

The early Egyptians, known to belong to the Caucasian group, knew of Manu. who became their first emperor. He changed the course of the river Nile, united northern and southern Egypt. He came to be called Muenes, and bull, Apis, which was a symbol among the Hindus (vṛṣa), was his symbol. He was also known as the law-giver of Egypt. Crete, a neighbouring country, called their ancient king and law-giver, Minos, which bears a close resemblance to the word Manu. Tradition has it that he went to India to learn the art of ruling and on his return was given the honorific title of Minos. Sir William Jones, writing in 1794, had a correct intuition of these events which he has recorded then, and which have been later confirmed by archeologists. He said : "There is certainly a strong resemblance, though obscured and faded by time, between our Manu, with his divine Bull, whom he names Dharma himself, or the genius of abstract justice, and the Meunes of Egypt with his companion or symbol, Apis ; and though we should be constantly on our guard against the delusion of etymological conjecture, yet we cannot but admit that Minos and Meunes or Meunis, have only Greek terminations, and that the crude noun is composed of the same radical letters both in Greek and Sanskrit ; that Apis and

5. Kramer, S. N., Keeper of the Sumerian Museum in the University of Pennsylvania, see his *From the Tablets of Sumer, Colorado* 1956. Also his article in the *Scientific Monthly*, October, 1957. On a letter regarding close resemblence between the wordings of a verse found in a Sumerian Stone the Rig Vedic verse, "God is one. We call him by many Names, "Professor Karmer wrote : "We have noted some possible parallels between the Rig Veda and the Sumerican material, but very little that is tangible. In any case, most of us admit that we are only 'scratching the surface,' although put in another way we are also' laying the foundation.' See author's work on Manu, page 259.

Meunes, says the analyst of ancient mythology, were both representatives of some ancient personage, appears from the testimony of Mycophron and his scholiasts ; and that personage was the same who in Crete was styled Minos, and who was also represented under the emblem of minotaur. Diodorus, who confines himself to Egypt, speaks of him by the title of bull Meunes as the first lawgiver, and says 'that he lived after the age of the gods and the heroes, when a change was made in the manner of life among men ; that he was a man of most exalted soul, and a great promoter of civil society, which benefited by his laws; that those laws were unwritten and received by him from the chief Egyptian deity, Harmes, who conferred them on the world as a gift of the highest importance.' He was the same, adds my learned friend, as Meunes whom the Egyptians represented as their first king and principal benefactor who first sacrificed to the gods and brought about changes in diet. If Minos, the sun of Jupiter, whom the Cretans, from national vanity, might have made a native of the land, was really the same person as Manu, we have the good fortune to restore by means of Indian literature, the most celebrated system of heathen jurisprudence and this work might have been entitled the laws of Minos ; but the paradox is too singular to be confidently asserted, and the geographical part of the book with most allusions to the natural history, must indubitably have been written after the Hindu race had settled to the south of Himalayas."[6]

Following these ancient civilisations of Mohan-Jo-Daro-Harrappa, Sumeria and Egypt came Babylon, Assyria, Hatti and Mittanis and we find in all of them a distinct record of the teachings of Manu or a close resemblance to them. Their ethnic composition, names of some of their kings relatives and of their cities have Indian origin. According to Dr. Harshe, we find some relatives of mentioned in one of these civilisations. Babylon is known to have had a College of Sanskrit. Its knowledge of astronomy and calculations of epochs, bearing identity with those of Manu, give us an assurance that Manu's teachings were a part of the mental equipment of the people. Manu's teachings were known in Palestine. Not a few of their customs resemble those of the Hindus, while the word Moses is said to be an adaptation from the Hindu word Manu, via Minos, of Crete.[7]

When we come to ancient Greece, we see ancient India transplanted there *en bloc*. Confining our attention to the impact of

6. Jones, Sir William, *Works of Sir William Jones*, edited by Lord Teignmouth, Vol. VII., pp. 81-882, London, 1794,
7. See author's *Manu Dharma Shastra*, pages 287-290.

Manu, it is maintained that Plato's *Republic* copied many ideas from Manu. According to Professor E. J. Utwick, formerly of London University, and later of Toronto, in his Message of Plato, has maintained the position that those without a knowledge of Hindu philosophy, would call Plato the first original thinker of Europe.

Tacitus, the Roman historian, (78 A.D.) records that the early German tribes described Manusc as the founder of their race. See his *Germania*, verses no. 3-4. This name sounds like Manu who is the progenitor of man. According to contemporary historians, the social organisation of Germany was fourfold, like that of the Hindus, and the functions assigned to each group were the same as their Indian analogues, Rightly or wrongly, Chamberlain, the German ethnologist attributes to Manu the racial psychology of Germany of modern times.

It is a well known fact that when Emperor *Justinian* wanted the Laws of his Empire to be systematised and codified, he appointed jurists from Greece and they were deeply influenced by Manu's thought. This is also the opinion of H. G. Wells and Sir Paul Vinogradoff, former Professor of Jurisprudence of the University of London. This was in 600 A.D. Earlier, when King Darius, (5th cent. BC) of Iran, was framing a Code of Laws, he is said to have turned to Manu, since India was near to him and it was a part of his empire.

During the last decades of the 18th century, Europe was caught in a great economic, social, political and cultural ferment. The various wars, the emergence of science and machine, involving complete transformation of life, rapid communication between villages and cities and nations, changes in agricultural and economic patterns of life, and secularisation of all knowledge had burst upon Europe and there was a feeling of utter helplessness and loss of values. People thought that there was to be no more joys of simple rural life, and that they would have to live in a world of power and economic imperialism and quick change. Then s mething appeared that led to a revival of hope and some semblance of joy among both the masses and the intellectuals, and that was the translations by William Jones of the *Bhagavad Gītā*, *Manu Dharma Shastra* and *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa. The first laid emphasis on the fundamentals of Indian philosophy, the second on the principles of social organisation, while the last revealed the dramatic and poetical genius of India.

The English translations were quickly translated into other European languages and the leaders of thought in each country

went into ecstasies over the discovery of this new continent of knowledge. In Germany, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Schlegel brothers, Heine, Herder, Humboldt and many others took part in painting verbal pictures of the type of the country that could have given birth to such profound systems of philosophy, sociology and drama.[8]

This is what is known as the Romantic Movement in European thought. It found expression in France in translations by various scholars. Count Bonald and Count Maistre wrote extensively on polit cs and government along lines of Manu's teachings, while the latter used to lecture on this subject in salons of St. Petersburg when accredited to the Russian Court as representative of the King of Sardinia. Comte, considered to be the father of modern sociology came under the influence of Manu's teachings through the writings of these scholars and of his teacher St. Simon, while numerous other thinkers, poets, novelists wrote and spoke of India extensively. Voltaire considered Manu, one of the books translated into French as the best book that had ever come from the East, while Emile zola, Victor Hugo, Chateuabriand praised Indian thought to the skies. It is said that the framers of the Napoleanic Code drew on Manu when commissioned by Napolean to do the job.[9]

The revelations of Manu's impact on English writers has not been complete. Of course, when the book was published in 1795, one Joseph Priestley wrote a volume of many hundred pages, opposing Manu's teachings and defending the Christian theology and sociology. But other thinkers of Romantic movement were familiar with Manu's teachings. Some of these were Thomas Carlyle, S. T. Coleridge, Shelley, Byron, Keats, Southey and others, till we come down to the present century when E. J. Urwick compared *Republic* of Plato with *Manu's Dharma Śāstra*, and Professor H. S. Mackenzie, one of the leading thinkers of England, referred to Manu's teachings.

From Europe, Manu went to the U.S. and influenced the leaders of the Transcendentalist movement, Emerson, Walt Whitman and Thoreau. Thoreau had received a copy of Sir William Jones's translation from a friend and passed it on to Emerson.

8. The reader will find considerable material in Glassenapp's book, still not translated into English, in *A Mythical Image : The Ideal of India., On German Romanticism.* by Leslie Wilson, Duke University Press, 1964, and in *India and the Germans : 500 Years of Indo-German Contact.* by Walter Leifer, by *Shakuntala Publishing House*, Bombay, 1971.

9. See *Bible in India*, by Mons Louis Jacolliot. See also the present author's lectures at the Bangalore University, 1971.

Emerson studied the book, carefully saw its implications for the rising civilisation of the U.S. and, with the permission of the publishers, serialised it, chapter by chapter, in this weekly journal, *The Dial*. The book was extensively studied by American scholars, not a few of whom became leading sociologists of the U.S. on their return from German universities where they came under its influence. The leading sociologists of the U.S. of those times who refer to Manu's teachings were Lester F. Ward and Thomas Harris, a Professor of Washington University in St. Louis, who later became the first Commissioner of Education of the United States. According to Walter Leifer, the Romantic Movement of Europe affected the Russian world of letters. As remarked earlier, Count Bonald used to lecture on Manu in Russian Salons. A Russian translation was published during the fifties and its new translation appeared during the fifties of the present century.

We must now face the question as to why *Manu Dharma Shastra* has enjoyed such popularity and continuity since ancient times, beginning with the Indus Valley civilisation and continuing upto today ? Our statement of the causes of this phenomenon must be brief. There are four outstanding features of Manu's social theory that have imparted to it a touch of eternity, and these are monistic cosmology, supremacy of consciousness, design in the universe and freedom, mokṣa, as the ultimate goal of human life.

There is an other characteristic of Manu which we must mention in passing. First with regard to social progress, Manu maintains that it is possible to ensure social progress, provided the laws that give continuity to human civilisation are properly observed and put into practice. Firstly social progress must be distinguished from evolution. The latter is a neutral category, snatched from the science of biology, while progress is a social and positive phenomenon. Secondly progress involves evaluation from time to time, as every planner in modern times knows. Thirdly, progress implies control of the situation. Progress in the animal world just happens, but at the human level it has to be willed and planned.

We now come to the second part of this paper, the Modern world. Manu has given an indication of what can happen to man and the social fabric if man ignores these fundamental laws and invents myths of his own making. The present-day world labours under numerous myths : the myth of uniformity of human nature, the myth of equality, the myth of democracy involving social, economic political equality, the myth of classless society, the myth of non-heirarchical "social order, the myth of proletarian dictatorship, the myth of multiple party government, the myth of centralisation of power, the myth of the omniscience of inconspicuous

politicians catapulted into position of power, the myth of bigness, and so on. All these militate against what Manu has taught throughout ages, and he may be credited with also having anticipated results of our non-compliance with these eternal principles.

The observance and compliance with these eternal varieties slowly deteriorates. From Satya Yuga, the Golden Age, man descends into Kali Yuga, the age of darkness, iron, steel, etc. of interpersonal and inter-group conflicts and tensions. The myth-making age, which is the modern age, is the age of *adharma* in which there 'is complete reversal of value and virtues, of standards and ideals'. Manu gives salient features of this social disorganisation, culminating in 'Brahmahatyā', extensive use of intoxicants, and other great sins (the pañcamahā pātakas) ; also several other sins.

Put in modern sociological jargon, the description means this : "These are the marks of the individual and groups who are in a state of moral and spiritual collapse, and of the age which is in a state of advanced decadence. They together represent social disorganisation in excelsis. Expressed in the language of our times, they represent man's senseless destruction of the fine web of ecological balance, a wanton destruction of natural resources, such as minerals, plants, and animals, a false class-consciousness, use of intoxicants, a highly incensed populace whose sexual propensities know no limits or decency, and is capable of grossest transgression, low business ethics, neglect of spiritual study and discipline, of normal domestic life, exercise of ruthless power of man over man and liquidation of his body, mind and soul. It represents the age when man's entire intelligence is devoted to a debauch of his sense-life, and the human and spiritual elements are in complete abeyance. It is the age of conflict between man and Nature, between man and woman, between various groups, between individual and state, between the country and the city, between man's natural and spiritual being." Has any author in human history given such accurate description of the modern situation and could any one improve on it ? Man must retrace his steps or SELF-annihilation is the destiny that awaits him.

SANSKRIT AND LAW

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The paper first analyzes the place of law in the Vedas, and, in greater detail, its place in the dharmaśāstras. It shows how "law" relates to dharma, and how it gradually detached itself from the other aspects of dharma to constitute a separate subject of Sanskrit writings.

The Sanskrit volumes on law proper are then analysed according to their contents, with special reference to the sub-divisions of the legal category. An effort will be made to bring out the quantitative and qualitative strength of the Sanskrit legal treatises.

If time permits, an appraisal will be added of the use made of the Sanskrit materials during the British period and in Independent India. In this connection. the question will be asked to what extent the Sanskrit texts conform to the legal practice of their times.

SMṚTI AND ĀCĀRA :

TRADITIONAL AND MODERN APPROACHES TO THEIR UNDERSTANDING

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This paper examines the stand of modern educated studenpt of *Dharma Śāstra* on the nature of, and the inter-relationshiy between, the written law (*Smṛti*) and unwritten law (custom) in Hindu Jurisprudence. It deals with Professor J.D.M. Derrett's paper on *Law and Custom in Ancient India : Sources and Authority* published in 1962, in Tome IX-Serie 3 of the "*Revue Internationale des Droits de l' Antiquite*" at pp. 11-32, as typical specimen of the modern scholars' approach in the evaluation of processes and motivations involved in the gradual development of *Dharma Śāstra* in the march of time over thousands of years. It proceeds to do so by comparing the historical data available on social conditions, and the reasoning and logic employed by Derrett in his paper for utilising the data, with the conclusions reached by the traditional expositors of *Dharma Śāstra* on the same data, on the strength of their reasoning for assessing the value of *Dharma Śāstra*.

At page 16 of his paper Derrett has stated the main thesis thus : "There appears to have been no stage at which law (i.e. *Śāstra* or *Dharma Śāstra*) was immutable, at which custom was not open to influence from jurists (i.e. *Smṛtikārs* or Commentators, etc.), or to modification or even abrogation at the hands of the ruler." He has given this as his final conclusion on the questions (which he has himself raised, p. 15) : "What precise part custom played in the development of the written law ? What relationships actually prevailed between them in practice ? and what processes needed to occur, before the law might influence custom, custom might overrule law, and both might be varied by legislation ?" Before stating his above thesis he has proceeded to lay special emphasis on it, by making the following observations : "The doctrine which this paper sets out incidentally to destroy is that "law" (i.e. *Dharma Śāstra*) in

India was immutable, immemorial custom was transcendent law, and the customs and usages that bound the public were neither open to be influenced by the classical jurists (i.e. *Smṛtikārs*/Commentators, etc.), nor amenable to alteration at the option of a political superior. All that is false".

The author of the present paper cannot, however, avoid expressing his views on recent trends he has come across in the writings of certain modern scholars when they have the exposition of *Dharma Śāstra* by the traditionally trained interpreters before them as the target of their criticism. It is commonly known that when a perspicuous student of the *Śāstra*, who has undertaken the study of his subject both comprehensively and in depth, it is his unfortunate lot to meet with a most striking phenomenon of the permanent and radical dichotomy, nay, even an unbridgeable chasm, between traditional and modern expositors on the understanding of two basic issues pertaining to the theme: viz. (a) the nature of the *Śāstra* ; and (b) the processes it must have undergone in its development in the march of time. But while a critical student of today would be ready to listen to the charges of inadequacy of learning, or subjective preferences and prejudices, or even ignorance of the science (?) of interpretation, laid against those traditional expositors whose writings are being examined, he would certainly be startled when charges of dishonesty, duplicity or conspiracy to commit fraud, are levelled against the authors of such writings. Yet this is exactly what the writer of the present paper has come painfully to find in the paper under review, and some of Derrett's other writings also. The following specimens of Derrett's charges will, it is hoped, help to illustrate the objectionable mode of his criticism.

Regarding the preparation of *Dharma Śāstra* works during the period, approximately between 600 B.C. and 600 A.D., and after referring to "the composition of additional works summarising the *Dharma*. including secular law (called *Smṛtis* and purported to be the remembered wisdom of the race), he makes the following devastating observation, in a perfectly nonchalant manner :—"All the while "spurious" editions of early but lost judicial writings were being produced, attempting to give in verse the up-to-date and complete law which the commentators were attempting to give in verse the up-to-date and complete law which the commentators were attempting to provide by way of commentary on the "genuine" texts. The two processes were not completely exclusive, for we find some commentators citing from and relying upon such "spurious" works as if they were "genuine" (p. 17). And again, a few paragraphs ahead : "There is evidence that "spurious" *Smṛtis* and *Purāṇas* were written in an attempt to make the *Śāstra* complete, but there is also evidence that the texts in question became out

of date or repugnant to the general concept of *Śāstra* and were evicted" (p. 23-24). By these statements Derrett has charged these expositors with dishonesty and duplicity. Again (on p. 29) : "The ingenuity of commentators was immense, and great alterations were made in the meaning without altering the text : and if that method was not adequate they would not scruple to alter the text itself. We have noted, too, the fabrication of bogus texts in order to modernise or adapt the *Śāstra* to current exigencies"—Further, (on p. 25) "In the late mediaeval period *Smṛtis* were "discovered" which reinstated and explained pre-emption."

Similarly in his lecture given under the auspices of the *Kuppuswami Śāstri Research Institute* (at Madras on 3-1-1966) he has indulged in making a more damaging allegation against one of the eminent Hindu judges of that High Court, who was not only a profound jurist but the most highly respected person among his contemporaries known for uprightness of character and saintly attitude on life. This is what Derrett has said : "In the same sense, Dr. Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer, sometime Judge of Madras High Court, for periods Ag. C.J., a very respectable lawyer and public man, joined (or rather conspired) with a Madras Pandit to put out spurious scriptures in the *Śuddhn Dharma Mandal* series, in the course of which "novel" laws of caste and marriage were attributed to divine revelations in the remote past by Lord *Nārāana*, made available through a non-existent *Sannyāsī* dubbed *Haṁsa Yogī* (pp. 47-48, Mad. L. J. 1966). In the earlier two sentences he made the following bitterly scathing attack on the unknown author of *Mahā Nirvāṇa Tantra* : "In the same sense, the forger who compiled the *Tantra*, which saw the light, it seems, between 1773 and 1780, had to remain anonymous and allowed the unsuspecting public to suppose that his novel "laws" were promulgated by *Lord Śiva* in a conversation with *Pārvatī*—This composition imposed on no less a person than Raja Ram Mohan Roy himself."[1*]

1. In the same vein Professor P. V. Kane does not feel any compunction in making the following remark (on pp. 1269-70 of his *History of Dharmaśastra*, Vol. V) against the *Smṛti* and *Puraṇa* writers, and other expositors of *Dharma Śāstra* of the period approximately between 400 A.D. to 1000 A.D. :—
"It would *have been honest and straightforward* if the writers of *Dharma Śāstra* had said that changed circumstances required that the words of the *Veda*, or of old *Smṛtis*, should not be followed." (Part II).

* Ed. The illustrations of Derret are unfortunate; neither the *Śuddha Dharma* texts nor the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* has anything to do with law ; Dr. Sir S. Subrahmania Iyer as judge had nothing to do with the *Śuddha Dharma Mandala*.

It is however gratifying to note that while ruminating over his problem (without seeking any guidance from the traditional approach) of the inveterate tendency of the writers of *Dharma Śāstra* to palm off even recent compositions under the authorship of venerable sages (*Ṛṣis*) of ancient times (or deities), Derrett has, perhaps without realising it, stumbled on its correct solution. He says on p. 48 : "There seems always to have been the notion that if an idea was not immeasureably old it had no authority. Perhaps the ultimate reason for this may be the fact that a father's authority derived from his obedience to his own father, and so on back into the indefinite past. Thus Hindu authors conspire with each other to defeat attempts to pin them, their notions, or their works down to a period of time." Here Derrett has, quite unwillingly, arrived at the only possible satisfactory explanation of what appears to him an intriguing phenomenon, recurring regularly over thousands of years, with respect to the composition of works of the *Śāstra*. This phenomenon has baffled all modern Indologists, and in their exasperation has led some to attribute dishonesty, duplicity and conspiracy to commit fraud on the public, to the traditional repository and expositor of *Dharma*. For the same reasons it has constantly muddled their tracks in their attempts to 'construct' and present to the public a history (or evolution) of Hindu law and morals.[2]

2. These preliminary observations on the exhibition of bad spleen by some of the modern Indologists against the traditional expositors of *Dharma*, although distasteful to the author of this paper, were considered necessary. The earlier among the modern critics, although they held the same kind of views, were sober in their assessment, and gentle in their criticism, of the traditional presentation of the *Śāstra*. Moreover, they never attributed unworthy motives and actions to the *Smṛtikārs* or the writers of Commentaries. The latest trend, to say the least, is unbecoming to academicians. Attribution of dishonesty and conspiracy to perpetuate fraud, to a whole range of hundreds of upto now most respected, traditionally trained scholars separated from each other both spatially and temporally by hundreds of miles and years, does not indicate possession of even the average quantum of parspicacity on the part of the critics themselves. Why should they exhibit such utter lack of sensibility as not to admit the possibility of another, and perhaps equally cogent (if not more) standpoint. as their own, steadfastly held by a big class of expositors of the *Śāstras* consisting of thousands of most respected scholars, endowed with profound learning and spread over a period of more than a thousand years ?

By way of preface to his principal thesis Derrett has, at two places. stated that jurists in India had to be, and were, alive to the practical problems that occurred elsewhere (pp. 15 and 17). But he admits (at one of these two places : on p. 15) that the solution they produced was (and is) in many respects peculiar. This should be obvious to every close student of *Dharma Śāstra* : The most palpable difference between the concept of *Dharma*, as evolved in Hindu thought, and the concept of "law", divorced from its ancient or mediaeval Natural Law overtones, consists in the former laying special strees on the imperceptible (and other wordly) consequences issuing from acts, either conformable or nonconformable to any of its precepts ; and the latter taking cognisance exclusively of perceptible (and this-wordly) consequences of legal rules. Thus while the former concept (of *Dharma*), relies, for it being understood, heavily on *a priori* basis and logical reasoning evolved from it, the latter concept (of 'law') is developed exclusively on *a posteriori* basis and reasoning proceeding therefrom.

It is scarcely necessary to bring to the notice of modern scholars that all the *Smṛtis* and *Sūtra* works, universally admitted to be old, and therefore "genuine" by them, after stating that *Śruti*, *Smṛti* and *Sadācāra* are the sources of *Dharma*. proceed to emphasise *this*, as its special characteristic. Thus *Vasiṣtha* says : अगृह्यमाणकारणो धर्मः (1, 7). *Āpastamba* also does the same :—आर्यसमयो हि अगृह्यमाणकारणः (I 4, 12). and again : यत्र तु प्रीत्यु पलब्धितः प्रवृत्तिः न तत्र शास्त्रमस्ति (I-11) Yājñavalkya alsostates :—अयं तु परमो धर्म यद्योगे नात्मदर्शनम् (I-7).

The same paramount ingredient of the concept has been picked out to define *Dharma* by *Jaimini* and *Bādarāyaṇa* (the composers of *Pūrva* and *Uttara Mīmāṁsā Sūtras*), and *Kumārila-Bhaṭṭa* and *Śaṅkarācārya*, the topmost expositors of the two respective systems. And there are a number of other writers who have acknowledged this as the distinguishing feature of *Dharma.* It is however a matter of pity that all modern critics of the traditionally approved method of interpreting the Śāstraic precepts, always lose awareness of this paramount factor in the concept of *Dharma* and begin to 'discover' the relevancy of any *Śāstraic* precept exclusively in the exigencies (that are mostly worked out in the speculative mind of each such critic) of time, place or similar other circumstances. The traditional Hindu *jurists* (as Derrett means by this term the *Smṛtikārs* and other expositors of *Dharma*) were thus required to be, and there is ample evidence to show that they were, actually, constantly aware of this factor of the imperceptible and other-wordly consequences of the *Dhārmic* precepts over and above their being alive to the practical

problems, the public were facing. No such precept could therefore be presented as authentic and binding unless its direct or indirect origin could be traced to the *Vedas*.

This requirement made it essential for any action, or course of conduct, for its being described as having the stamp of *Dharma* imprinted upon it in either of the following *two* alternatives ; viz. (1) the action or course of conduct must be shown to have its source directly in an express *Vedic* precept ; or in the alternative (2) it must be shown to have become a part of the normal course of conduct of the Vedic community, or a section, or a group, thereof and is being conscientiously observed (a) in an unbroken tradition over an immemorially long period of time, and (b) under the conviction that it was obligatory because of its imperceptible consequences. By referring to a section or a group of the Vedic community, the local, the caste and the family *Sadācāras*, that are recognised as the sources of *Dharma* are also included. Thus both *Medhātithi* and *Kullūka* emphasise this factor of the precepts of the *Manu Smṛti* for establishing their authentic character, and the resulting need to hold the *Smṛti*, although a work of human composition to be authoritative. *Kullūka says* :— पौरुषेयत्वेऽपि वाक्ये मनुवाक्यानां अविगीत-महाजन-परम्परा पारिग्रहान् श्रुत्युपग्रहाच्च वेदमूलकतया प्रामाण्यम् ।।

He has taken care to point out besides the satisfactory fulfilment of the above two conditions by Manu's precepts, a third factor, in the case of precepts of *Manu Smṛti* : he says several of these can be traced to, and have got their originals in, the text of the extant *Vedas*. The presence of other two factors is however, common to precepts of all other *Smṛtis* ; and hence the recognition of their authority follows.

This has been established elsewhere elaborately with convincing reasoning in works on *Mīmāṁsā* as '*Śabara Bhāṣya*', *Tantra-Vārtika*, *Nyāyasudhā*, *Śāstra-dīpikā*, *Bhāṭṭa-dīpikā*, etc. and by reputed commentators such as *Medhātithi*, *Viśvarūpa* or *Mādhavācārya*. The convincing character of this reasoning is realised when one is required to ponder over such propositions as stated in the following statements :

अग्निहोत्रादीनां वैदिकपदार्थानां ये कर्तारः ते एव अष्टकादिस्मृतीनां इति कर्तृ-सामान्यात् प्रामाण्यमुक्तम् । (मयूखमालिका) Or : "स्मार्तवैदिकयोर्नित्यं व्यतिषङ्गात् परस्परम् । कर्तृतः कर्मतो वापि वियुज्येते न जातु तु तौ ।। प्रामाण्यकारणं मुख्यं वेदविद्भिः परिग्रहः । तदुक्तं कर्तृसामान्याद् अनुमानं श्रुतीः प्रति ।
(Quoted by *Medhātithi* on *Manu* I'-6).

Or We come across the following verse giving the principal argument in *Śāstra-dīpikā* : वैदिकैः स्मर्यमाणत्वात् ततपरिग्रह दार्ढ्यम् । सम्भाव्य-वेदमूलत्वात्स्मृतीनां वेदमूलता ।।

As a matter of fact all the expositors of *Dharma Śāstra*, from the earliest times upto the end of the eighteenth century, were fully convinced of the authoritative character of precepts attributed to any *Smṛti* as they could point out to existence of practice in conformity with such precepts, some were actually being followed, (if not by the whole) by a part of the Vedic community as would satisfy the above specified conditions. When, therefore, any doubt arose as regards their derivation from *Vedic* injunctions, as the source in the *Vedas* were not traceable, the doubt was sought to be resolved by the statements :—

"शाखानां विप्रकीर्णत्वात् पुरुषाणां प्रमादतः ।
नानाप्रकरणरूपत्वात् स्मृतेर्मूलं न दृश्यते ।।

and by raising the question :

"यत्तु किमर्थं वेदवाक्यान्येव नोपसंग्रहीतानीति ।"

The answer to this query was : संप्रदाय विनाशेभीतेः । विशिष्टानुपूर्व्या हि स्वाध्यायोऽध्येतव्यः इति श्रूयते । स्मार्ताश्चाचाराः केचित् क्वचित् कस्यांचित् शाखायाम् । तत्रापि तु केचित् पुरुषमेव अधिकृत्य आम्नायन्ते । ··· तत्र वेदप्रलयः प्रसज्येत । तन्त्रवार्तिके

(मन्त्रवार्तिक on M.S. 1-3-2) *Medhātithi* also answers the doubt in almost identical terms in his *Manubhāsya* on II-6. He says :—अथा-द्यत्वे पठ्यन्ते एव ताः शाखाः । किन्तु विप्रकीर्णास्ते धर्माः । कस्यांचित् शाखायां अष्टकादीनां कर्मणामुत्पत्तिः । कस्यांचित् द्रव्यम् । कस्यांचित् देवता । क्वचित् मन्त्रः । इत्येवं विप्रकीर्णानां मन्वादयो अङ्गोपसंहारं सुखावबोधर्थं चक्रुः ।

It is clear that these arguments have a strong prsuasive force. Yet the principal argument for recognising the authoritative character of these *Smṛti* texts stands on firm ground and is independently valid. The reasoning is based on the *logic* that the class of intellectual and respectable leaders of the *Vedic* community would never have adopted the *practice* in question let alone continuing it in unbroken tradition, if its members were not originally convinced of the *Vedic* source of the precepts (which are to be seen in the *Smṛtis*) on which the practice was based. It is on the strength of these grounds (and especially the one which is mentioned as the first, and again repeated at the end in the above statement) the authoritative character of all *Smṛtis* has been established and accepted as a firm and basic assumption by all traditional scholars of the *Śāstra*.

Kumārila Bhaṭṭa finally declares : तेन सर्वस्मृतीनां प्रयोजनवती प्रामाण्य-सिद्धिः । which means acceptance of such authority of *Smṛti* texts as would necessitate their adoption in actual way of life.

At the same time it must be carefully noted that it is only (1) the practice of the followers of the *Vedas*, (2) continued in an unbroken tradition from immemorally ancient times, (3) with the conviction of its being obligatory in character, that gives the authoritative character to the *Smṛti*-text upholding the same. It is not *any* practice, picked up indiscriminately, or at random, from any source, or based on any *non-Vedic* authority that could be, or was ever accepted as authoritative, or as Derrett suggests, could have been efficacious in influencing and modifying the text of the *Śāstra*. As *Medhātithi* has made it clear in his commentary on Manu II-6 :

न हि शाक्य-भोजक-क्षपणकादीनां वेदसंयोगसंभवः येन तन्मूलतया स्वविषये प्रमाणंस्यु; । स्वयमनभ्युपगात् तैश्च वेदस्य अप्रामाण्याभिधानान् प्रत्यक्षवेद विरुद्धार्थोपदेशाच्च ।

As the Buddhists and the like, have openly repudiated the authority of the Vedas there would never arise a possibility of a true follower of the *Vedas* regulating his life, in any of its aspects, how-so-ever trivial, in conformity with a rule or practice having its source in any such *anti-Vedic* (or *non-Vedic*) authority, despite its otherwise persuasive character. *Kumārila Bhaṭṭa* has also made this point clear in *Tantravārttika* (on p.m. 1, 3-5) He observes :—एतदीया ग्रन्था एव च मन्वादिभिः परिहार्यत्वेन उक्ताः । तस्मात् धर्मंप्रति त्रयीबाह्यमेव जातीयकं प्रामाण्ये-नानपेक्षितं स्यादिति सिद्धम् ।

In the *Smṛtimuktāphala* of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita the following verse is quoted in the Chapter on *Varṇāśrama* (p. 7)

अर्हच्चावाकवाक्यानि बौद्धादिपठितानि च ।
विप्रलम्भक-वाक्यानि तानिसर्वाणिवर्जयेत् ।।

This being the clear stand universally taken by the traditionally trained expositors of *Dharma Śāstra*, how could a facile statement of a modern critic, that any variety of practice, that might have for some unknown reason taken root among a section of the people was efficacious in influencing and modifying the text of law (Smṛti), accepted as having any force ? According to traditional outlook, such precepts of 'law' or practices, that could not claim for their source immemorial ancient practice, carried on in unbroken tradition with a sense of conviction regarding its obligatory character may, perhaps, over short periods of time, and under erroneous understanding, claim to be authoritative, but they are bound to go below ground in course of time, as *Manu* declares :

उत्पद्यन्तेच्यवन्तेच यान्यतोऽन्यानिकानिचित् (तान्यर्वाक् कालिकतया निष्फलान्यनृतानिच)

This approach to prove and accept the authoritative character of any work claiming to be a repository of *Śāstraic* precepts (i.e. *Smṛti*, *Purāṇa*, *Itihāsa*, etc.) obviously lays its principal emphasis on continuity, in an unbroken tradition and without even the slightest variation, of acts and practices that are observed as obligatory for their imperceptible and other-worldly, or non-secular effects, form the primary reason ; their this-worldly or secular effects form out a seccndory reason. And an exhaustive list of all the venerable personages who had composed such works was not available any time to the medieval expositors of the *Śāstra* (or even to those earlier) such as (1) *Upavarṣa*, (2) *Pāṇini*, (3) *Patañjali*, (5) *Jaimini*, (5) *Bādarāyaṇa*, (6) *Māṭhara*, etc. This could not, and did not, present any difficulty to the expositors in deciding upon the 'genuine' or the 'spurious' nature of any particular precept, as the *Dharmic* life of the large Vedic community, with its well integrated divisions into local and caste groups was a current phenomenon that was actually being lived before their eyes. Every expositor, fully equipped as he was expected to be with the thorough knowledge of the interpretative science of *Vyākaraṇa*, *Nyāya* *Mīmāṁsā* and *Vedānta*, and also of the socio-religious usages and practices (or of such usages and practices as had become either लोकसिद्ध or लोकविद्विष्ट) could claim with confidence possession of capacity to pronounce upon the authenticity or otherwise of any precept. There was not the least doubt entertained in any quarter on the honesty and straightforward nature of the expositor.

In this way different expositors came to be relied upon by members of certain sections and groups of the community more than by others, because, in spite of their works containing large portions of the exposition of *Dharmaśāstra* commonly authoritative for the whole community, in some portions of their works, they upheld also that interpretation of the particular *Smṛti* text which was in conformity with the peculior usages and practices followed from immemorially ancient times by particular sections and groups. This, the expositors could do either by selecting a particular *Smṛti* for writing their commentary, wherein they could import the texts and precepts of other *Smṛtis* for explaining the significance of the text under comment ; or they could do this, by undertaking to compose a digest or a compendium of the whole *Śāstra* where they could treat and explain topicwise such relevant precepts from different sources as could be found in conformity with the immemorially pursued religious observances of those sections and groups wit

whom they were more familiar. In this process, it is obvious that the expositors of *Dharma* were in a position to lay emphasis on some, and ignore others, or explain the relevancy of all by applying the सवाकाश-निरवकाश न्याय of *Mīmāṁsā* (by which the sectionwise or groupwise or epocwise authoritative nature of the text could be decided). This method of interpreting the *Smṛti* texts certainly could not amount to either dishonesty, or duplicity or conspiracy to commit fraud on the part of these expositors.

Following this method. insistence upon producing an exhaustive list of all ancient repositories of *Dharma Śāstra*, or their works at one time and place, would not be considered absolutely essential. In the eyes of modern scholars, this unavailability in their entireity of the names of these authors or their works is not only a grave lacuna, but a deliberate device to commit fraud and palm off bogus or superious percepts under the names and authority of ancient venerable personages. But in the view of traditional expositors, this was even unthinkable, so long as immemorial socio-religious practice, as its counterpart, being observed by the Vedic community or any *Vedic* sections or groups, could not be referred to in its evidence. It is on the basis of this reasoniug *Medhātithi* declares : "अत एव स्मर्तृपरिगणना मनुर्विष्णुर्यमोऽङ्गिरा इति निर्मूला। तथाहि पैठनिसी-बौधायन प्रचेताः प्रभृतयः शिष्टैः एवंरूपाः स्मर्यन्ते। न च परिगणनायां अंतर्भाविताः। He says : "For these reasons there can be no reasonable ground for enumerating the names of "Recollectors" (स्मृतिकाराः) as *Manu*, Viṣṛu, *Yama*, *Angiras*, and so forth. For we find that many such personages as *Paiṭhīnasi*, *Baudhāyana*, *Prācetasa* and the rest, are recognised by the eminently wise and learned (शिष्टाः) as reliable "Recollectors" (स्मृतिकाराः) and yet their names are not found in any of the different lists (given by way of illustrations in various *Smṛtis*)". Commenting on the 4th & 5th verse of *Yājñavalkya Smṛti* (which give a list of twenty names of the authors of different *Smṛtis*) *Vijñāneśvara* says ; नेयं परिसंख्या किंतु प्रदर्शनार्थमेतत्। अतसे बौधायनदेर धर्मशास्त्रत्वमविरुद्धम्। एतेषां प्रत्येकं प्रामाण्येऽपि साकाङ्क्षाणां आकाङ्क्षा-परिपूरणमन्यतः क्रियते। विरोधे तु विकल्पः॥

"This is not (to be considered as) an exhaustive list ; hence the position of *Baudhāyana* and others (not mentioned above) as 'repositories of *Dharma Śāstra* is not open to any challenge. And although (the text of) each of them is authoritative, yet matters and topics not covered by the precepts of any (among these) are to be supplied (and decided) by precepts on such matters and topics from others (where they are available). In case of conflict (between

such precepts, with each other) alternatively either of these is valid." The reasons for accepting the authoritative character of the works composed by such venerable personages as stated by *Medhātithi*, are convincing to the traditional expositors of *Dharma*. who seek for (a) through knowledge of the whole *Veda*, and (b) complete dedication for a continuous endeavour to live in conformity with Vedic precepts. He says : सर्वथा यमविगानेन शिष्टाः स्मरन्ति वदन्ति वा एवं विधैः गुणैः युक्तं, तेन चरातन् प्रणीतम् इति, तस्य वाक्यं सत्यपि पौरुषेयत्वेन धर्मे प्रमाणं स्यात् इति "स्मृतिशक्ति च तद्विदाम्" । इत्यस्यार्थः ।। (II. 6)

"The words "*Smṛtiśīle Ca tadvidām*" mean this : "when a person is known by all the eminently wise and learned, the Śiṣṭas, (without any dissenting view on it) to have thoroughly mastered all the *Vedas*, and who has, by superhuman austerities, successfully attained the goal of living in full conformity with Vedic precepts, and they have also accepted a particular work as composed by such person, the words of such a person, as incorporated in that work and the actual conduct of such person as manifested during the course of his life, even though both of them proceed from a human source, would be accepted as authoritative sources of *Dharma*."

Medhātithi is even ready to assert that even if, in the present time, some eminently wise and learned ones in the community were to come across a person endowed with the above specified attributes and qualifications and if such a person were to compose a work by paying full heed to the object, method and limiting conditions recognised by earlier sages who were the "repositories" of *Dharma*, such work of his would certainly become authoritative to the members of the Vedic community coming after him. *Medhātithi's* actual words are these : अद्यत्वे य एवं विधैर्गुणैर्युक्तः, ईदृशेनैवच हेतुना ग्रन्थमुपनिबध्नीयात् स उत्तरेषां मन्वादिवत् प्रमाणीभवेत् ।

And the reasons adduced by him for making the assertion are stated by him thus : इदानींतानना तु यदेव तत्र तस्य बोधकारणं तदेव तेषामस्तीति न तद्वाक्यादवगतिः । इदानींतनस्तु यावन्मूलं न दर्शयति तावन्न विद्वांसः तद्वाक्यं प्रमाणयन्ति । दर्शिते तु मूले प्रमाणीकृते ग्रन्थे कालान्तरे यदि कथंचित् अष्टकादिमूलतुल्यता स्यात् तदा तेषां शिष्ट परिग्रहान्यथानुपपत्त्या तन्मूलानुमानं युक्तम् ।

"People of the present generation—who would be contemporaries of the said writer—would not derive their knowledge of precepts and practices of *Dharma* from his work because the earlier or (original) sources of these available to him would be equally and commonly available to them also. Hence it is that until and unless any present-day writer clearly indicates the source (which is acceptable to all) from which he has derived a certain information, the

wise and the learned would not accept his word as reliable. When however, he has pointed out the source (and has thus convinced them of its genuine character) and his work has been accepted as authoritative, then at some future time, when analogous to the case of *Smṛti* precepts regarding *Aṣṭaka* rites, (whose origin in a *Vedic* precept, we of the present-day cannot point out), it would certainly be right to infer its authoritative character from the fact of its having been accepted to be so by the eminently wise and learned members of the *Vedic* community."

The fundamental difference between the reasoning of traditional expositors of *Dharma Śāstra*, on accepting the authority of any piece of writing as a precept of *Smṛti*, as typified by the above statement of *Medhātithi* on the one hand, and that of any modern scholar on the other, is palpably clear. On a close examination of the latter (that is, the reasoning advanced by the modern scholar) one cannot come across any cogent ground that is capable of satisfactorily answer to the question : Why at all, the text of any *Smṛti*, old or recent, should be, or was/is considered authoritative ? None of these was ever enacted and promulgated by any political superior. Nor can any modern scholar adduce cogent historical evidence to show that precepts came to be incorporated in various *Smṛtis* as a result of the pressure of public opinion behind them. It would be amusing (if not utterly ridiculous) to find any person asserting the exercise of pressure of strong public opinion in favour making (1) the study of the *Vedas*, (2) the performance (a) of *Sandhyā-Vandana* twice/thrice daily, or (b) of the five daily sacrifices; or (3) observance of rules insisting upon trivial details in celebrating the marriage, or the adoption, or the initiation ceremonies, or while performing the funeral obsequies, compulsory for the members of the *traivarṇika* caste groups as the cause or reason and why the rules enjoining them came to be introduced in different *Smṛti* or *Sūtra* works.

Examining the stand of the modern scholar from the opposite direction, can any of them explain why, in spite of the strong public opinion (especially the opinion of the modernly educated public) vociferously clamouring for change in several important matters of social-religious life of the *Vedic Hindu community*, such as (a) temple entry of untouchables, (b) widow remarriage among the classes of regenerate Hindus, (c) abolition of child marriage, (d) doing away with caste differences in the community, etc. suitable new precepts were not substituted in *Smṛti* replacing those which obstructed the change desired by public opinion ? It is well known, on the other hand, that on the question : Whether or not the *Śāstra* permitted widows of higher castes to remarry (on the strength of the text of *Nārada* and *Parāśara*), the late Pandit Ishwar Chandra Vidyasagar

in Bengal, and the late Shri Vishnu Shastri Pandit in Maharashtra, could not succeed in establishing their plea for change before the tribunals of Pandits, where the traditional method of disputation was adhered to. Nor was Gandhi successful in establishing the no-objection stand on the part of the *Śāstra* on the issue of temple-entry of the untouchables. On the contrary, it is a historical fact that all these changes had to be, and actually have been, brought about through the intervention of the state, by enactment of relevant legislation, and that no one, from among the class of traditionally trained Pandits is known to have started believing that the new rules on these matters truly uphold the *Dharma*. The change in public opinion on the issue of widows' remarriage must have started at least about 150 years ago, and the law was enacted as far back as in 1856 ; yet parallel change in the notions of the traditionally trained *Pandit* on the matter has not taken place even today. Similarly, in spite of the powerful whirlwind compaign of Gandhi and his camp followers from the Himalayas to Cape Camorin, as also the strong agitation by the late Dr. Ambedkar and others, for the eradication of the "blot of untouchability from the Hindu social-religious system, the synods of Pandits, too many to be enumerated have, over the last fifty years (from 1923 to 1970) firmly reiterated the stand of *Dharma Śāstra,* that certain caste groups belonging to the *Vedic Hindu community*, because of the stigma of pollution their members are believed to carry with them throughout their lives, are to be treated as normally untouchables, and their entry into temples, where images were conscreted with the accompainment of *Vedic mantras*, would result in the defilement of the sacred premises, and the mystical spiritual merit to be obtained on offering worship to the images installed in such temples, would cease to arise.

Derrett's views on the nature of 'custom' and its relationship with 'law' (*Smṛti* or commentaries) are aiso widely divergent from the universally accepted conclusions of the traditional expositors on the same. It is doubtful whether or not, the three subdivisions, with their peculiar characteristics of what he has described 'custom', have been fully recognised by him : There is at least very little evidence regarding this in his paper, (although at one or two places (pp. 20 & 22) he has referred to such divisions. According to the traditionally accepted evaluation, *Śadācāra* or *Śiṣṭācāra* being a source of *Dharma,* its practice is obligatory and also expected to bring about two consequences viz : (a) approbation and respect to the practitioner from those belonging to the group, where in an immemorial and unbroken tradition the particular course of conduct

has been known to be a *Sadācāra.** As the distinct character of different groups integrated in the community as a whole was also universally recognised the practice of an approved course of conduct by members of one group naturally resulted in the approbation of such persons by the members of all other groups also, notwithstanding its non-practice by them, even though the said practice may involve the party concerned in substantial material loss, extreme physical effort or painful discomfiture. By way of illustration, the practice of having the hair of a child tonsured for the first time at a specific sacred place by the members of some castegroups, that is current from immemorially ancient times, may be referred to. It may be that owing to exigencies of modern conditions a certain number of families belonging to any of these caste-groups were required, either temporarily or on permanent basis, to live at a far away distance from that sacred place, for earning their livelihood. Yet the necessity of observing this custom, as a *Kulācāra* or *Jātyācāra* will compel the members of such families to undergo the trouble and expense and make a journey to the sacred place whenever the tonsure ritual (चौल चूडाकरण संस्कार) is to be performed in respect of the child belonging to the same. The due observance of this custom at a heavy material cost and inconvience will necessarily result in the approbation of the members of such families (more so, if they are poor or suffering under other varieties of privations) by all others including the rest of the members of the said castegroups. (b) And secondly as guaranted by the *Śāstra*, this is bound to yield beneficial consequences that are imperceptible (during this birth) and are other-worldly, to those who have obresved the particular Sadāclāra with all ritalistic datails ascompanying it.

But quite distinct from this class of "custom" two other classes of "custom" : (1) *Caritra* and (2) *Anācāra*, are also taken note of by the *Śāstra*. Of these two, the variety of practice designated as *Cāritra* consists of such practices which are, in the main, usages of localities, or trade or occupational groups, which are more or less concerned with the mundane social activities of either intragroup or intergroup nature, that might have been originally devised for securing facility or convenience of the parties practising them, and

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* Derrett has erred here also in attributing to *Manu* the preposition : "the practiceh of *Dharma* results in bringing prosperity to the practitioner in this life. Manu's verse is this :
श्रुतिस्मृत्युदितंधर्ममनुतिष्ठन् हि मानवः ।
इह कीर्तिमवाप्नोति प्रेत्य चानुत्तमं सुखम् ॥ (2-2)
Here *Manu* promises *approbation* or *fame* to the practitioner of Dharma and not prosperity as Dr. Derrett's asserts."

which have become well-rooted over a sufficiently long period of time to be considered by their members as normal course of conduct.

The nature of the conduct falling under the category of *Sadācāra* is radically different from that of the conduct belonging to the classes of *Caritra* and *Anācāra*. *Hārita Smṛti* describes *Sadācāra* as :

साधवः क्षीणदोषाः स्युः सच्छब्दः साधुवाचकः । तेषामाचरणं यत्तु स सदाचार उच्यते ।

"Those who are good, pious and righteous have got their mind and body cleaned from the stigmas of sins and other unworthy acts. The participle *sat* सत् in the word that denotes this class of persons (as in *Sajjana* or *Sadgṛhastha*) is indicative of their piety and righteousness. The actions of such persons are spoken of as *Sadācāra*." *Manu* in enjoining upon persons generally the paramount duty of following the class of activities and functions carried on by their respective ancestors from generation to generation has made it clear that "these must belong to the category of *Sadācāra*" by use of the expression सतां मार्गम् in the verse :

येनास्य पितरो याताः येन याताः पितामहाः ।
तेन यायात् **सतांमार्गं** तेन गच्छन्न दुष्यति ।।

Thus Medhātithi explains :

यदि पितृपितामहादिभिः कैश्चित् कथंचित् अधर्म आचरितपूर्वः स न आदरणीयः इति "सतांमार्गम्" इत्याह ।।

And it is also pointed out that if a certain course of conduct was never practised by one's ancestors and it is additionally found to be prohibited by the precepts of a certain *Smṛti*, it would obviously be avoided :

येषां तु पित्रादिभिरर्थो नाचरितः स्मृत्यन्तरे प्रतिषिद्धश्च ते तं परिहरन्त्येव ।

This two-fold limitation—one positive in the sense, of continuously being practised from generation to generation, and the other negative, of not being prohibited by the precept of any *Smṛti* defines the boundaries of the area of *Sadācāra* and helps to distinguish it from *Caritra* and *Anācāra*,

"Caritra" denotes usages that are peculiar to regional or occupational groups. Such usages are practised for the convenience, or some other kind of tangible result, derived from their practice. Such usages are quite different from those which are practised for their otherworldly beneficial results. They are neither universal in their operation nor is it necessary that they should be

immemorially old in their origin : they may have originated as *conventions*. Ordinarily these usages belong to the variety of peculiar occupational or commercial usages and in a broad sense, they are ethically neutral. But it should be noted that certain practices confined to a few caste or regional groups, although morally reprehensible, have, because of their long-standing vogue come to be described as the peculiar *Caritra* of those groups where they are practised. *Gautama Dharmasūtra* restricts the authoritative character of these special practices coming under the general class of *Caritra* to the limited areas where they are practised, by stating additionally that these must not be opposed to the precepts of scriptures :—

"देश जाति-कुधर्मंश्च ग्राम्नायैरविरुद्धाः प्रमाणम् । कर्षक-वणिक्-पशुपाल-कुसीदि-कारवः स्वे-स्वे वर्गे । तेभ्यः यथाविकारमर्थान् प्रत्यवहृत्य धर्मव्यवस्था ।"

In illustrating such usages, which (1) cannot be held to have sprung from a Vedic source because of their yielding visible results. and (2) are not opposed directly or indirectly to scriptures, *Gautama* refers to the special usages of ploughmen, shopkeepers, cowherds, small bankers and craftsmen, and states the areas of their respective authority as confined to the respective groups, and those outsiders who have to deal with them. These usages constituting a part of *Caritra* are morally neutral.

But others, which are found to be reprehensible on taking into consideration the general tenor of *Dharma*, are, because these are indulged in over a long period of time without anyone among the groups feeling ashamed about practising them, also described as the *Caritra* of those groups where they are practised. The most notorious among these have been enumerated in *Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra* in two lists : Dividing the community by reference to the geographical divisions of their permanent habitats as *Southerners* and *Northerners*, he has ascribed five principal practices, opposed to Dharmic precepts, to certain specified groups belonging to each of these two divisions. These usages, although, clearly anti-*Dharmic*, are described as *Caritra* because of their vogue and fairly ancient origin. It is also conceded that by their practice, the members of these groups do not become liable either (a) for punishment by king, or (b) for ex-communication by other groups, living in their neighbourhood. Ordinarily any anti-scriptural act (i.e. *Anācāra*), being a sin, would involve the doer either in punishment, or/and social ban, and he shall also have to suffer from the evil effects of his sinful acts in the next world and future lives. As regards the consequences of punishment and/or social ban, that are expected to be faced in this world, it is stated that the wise

course would be not to enforce either punishment or social ban as it is feared that the imposition either might lead in the near future to resentment, insurrection and revolt against the established authority and order by the members of such refractory groups. This is the import of *Bṛhaspati's* verses :

"जनापरक्तिर्भवति बलं कोषश्च नश्यति ।
···अनेन कर्मणा नैते प्रायश्चित्त दमार्हकाः ॥"

But an act which is *anti-dhārmic* i.e. opposed to scriptural precepts, whether it has become a *caritra* on account of its vogue because of its open practice by specific groups and continued indulgence over a long period, or it is only an *Anācāra* which, is a solitary sinful act done by a sinner, involving disapprobation of, and/or punishment to the doer, the other-worldly evil effects of either, cannot be avoided by any device except only on the due performance by the sinner of the expiatory and purifactory rituals (*Prāyaścitta*) prescribed by the *Śāstra* specifically in each such case. Thus according to the traditional understanding of *Dharmaśāstra*, an *Anācāra* or *anti-dhārmic act*, has no chance of being transformed into a *Sadācāra*, or an act that will be a source of *Dharma*, despite its vogue and long observance.

In this connection the *Śāstra* has not kept quiet by merely making these declarations. It has laid down further steps that are expected to be effective in retrieving persons and groups from the clutches of sin and vice and restoring the sinner groups to tread the path of *Dharma* and *Sadācāra*. Although, in such cases both the forces viz. (a) political power, and (b) public opinion, have proved nugatory to improve conditions, the *Dharma Śāstra* has assigned the task to *Brāhmans* generally by making the members of *Brāhmaṇa caste* who are in the immediate neighbourhood responsible for, and directing them to the enlightenment of, the members of such delinquent groups. In a well known verse ***Manu*** has declared :

प्रजापतिर्हि वैश्वाय सृष्ट्वा परिददे पशून् ।
ब्राह्मणाय च राज्ञे च सृष्ट्वा परिददे प्रजाः ॥ (IX-)

The responsibility of maintaining and sustaining groups of men on the right path i.e. the permanently established Vedic order has been assigned jointly to the *Brāhmans* and *Kṣatriyas* : the Brāhmaṇas have to discharge it by a constant endeavour of educating and habituating the members of different groups, whereby it will be possible to sustain their faith in the ultimate beneficial goal of highest individual weal. According to present-day concepts of law and morals finality in none of the two is yet attained, nor is

there any possibility in the future of its being ever reached. Hence the problem of restoring individuals, groups and communities to any earlier moral or legal position would never arise. And thus modern interpreters of *Śāstra* should experience no compunction whatsoever in visualising the constant shifting in the legal or moral nations of the Vedic Hindu Community, and feel equally at home, whether the anti-Vedic or anti-Dhārmic practices indulged in by members of certain groups, first surreptitiously, and later on openly and without a shred of shame, are to be declared as transformation in law (i.e. *Śāstra*) that have taken place as a result of the generality of the people, voluntarily grouping up their *Sadācāras*.

The two positions as envisaged by (a) *Dharma Śāstra* and (b) *Rājanīti Śāstra* are, however, altogether different. In the works adumbrating the expositions of both these social disciplines, it is conceded that the tendency of the generality of the people, is always towards indulging in the gratification of desires which pull them away from the goal of attainment of self-realisation. This being the case, both the *Brāhmaṇas* that is, the educators and spiritual leaders of the community and the *Kṣatriyas*, that is, the national and political leaders of the people, have by their joint efforts to maintain them on the immemorially established *Varṇāśrama Order* with all its elaborately drawn-up rules, obligations and distribution of functions as well as interdependent relationships between groups and groups. When owing to unforeseen external or internal disturbances some groups are found to have deviated from the *Śāstraic* way of life, at any point, and this deviation owing to the negligence of *Brāhmaṇas* and officers of the government has continued over a long period of time so as to become a deep-rooted habit, it would be unwise as stated above, to attempt forcibly to eradicate the habit by the use of physical punishment or material loss imposed against the whole regional or caste group as a sanction. This may result in rebellion and overthrow of political authority. When things have reached this stage, the *Brāhmaṇas* have, either *sou motu* or on direction of the king, to make a sustained effort, towards their improvement both by educating them on, and the setting themselves as ideal examples of, the *Dhārmic way of life* to the members of the erring groups. If and when, after a strenuous effort, sustained consistently over several generations at a stretch, they succeed in retrieving a considerable number of the members of any among such groups to the observance of practices, sanctioned by the *Śāstra* (in place of their former indulgence in anti-Dhārmic pleasures of the flesh), and if under such a condition there are still a few persons (belonging to the same group) who are still arrogantly indulging in anti-Dhārmic practices, (as now the

threat of a general insurrection against the king, for physically enforcing the law, being thus removed) he (the king) should under such circumstances promulgate his edict (*Rājaśāsana*) and prohibit indulgence in the specific anti-Dhārmic on pain of punishment. This is the appropriate climate created as the result of education by *Brāhmaṇas* of the members of the refractory groups, practising their Caritra. Caritra, which here meant indulgence in matters of flesh openly by a strong group, had overridden the limits of *Dharma* and *Vyavahāra*, and had become powerful. If as is the case with modern legal and political theory, it was no one's business to retrieve and wean back the people thus lost to the *Dhārmic* way, the law would necessarily be required to undergo change, and new rules of law, accepting the erstwhile anti-Dhārmic practice as a legally valid practice, would be required to be enacted, the earlier rules would stand repealed. As explained above, the policy and procedure of *Dharma Śāstra* to maintain steadfastly on the path of *Dharma* are radically different from that of modern political or legal theory. And here the conception of *Dharma* varies fundamentally from the conception of 'Law' ; whereas 'Law' is a tool in the hands of political authority that is required to be fashioned according to the fancies of the very people who are intended to be governed and regulated by its operation, *Dharma* is the exclusive and eternal means available to the people for reaching the ultimate goal of *self-realisation*, it is the people, the *Brāhmaṇas*, the political authorities, and all other institutions that are to be shaped by *Dharma* so that the attainment of the goal of self-realisation could come to be envisaged within the horizon of possibility. This being the case, it is but most natural that the approaches of the traditional and modern expositions of Dharmaśāstra, including Smṛti (Law) and Ācāra (Custom), would be radically different from each other.

This detailed exposition of the traditional approach to the understanding of the nature of D*harma* and especially its two major sources viz. Smṛti and Ācāra is expected to make the following as the special features of their universally accepted legal theory, and the mutual relationships between the different sources : (1) The *Vedas* are the primary source of D*harma* because their precepts are the *only* independent source of knowledge on acts that bring about beneficial or evil results to their doer in the near or distant future, in this or the next birth. These results are imperceptible to the senses of man. (2) The truth of directions contained in these Vedic precepts is unchallengeable because the *Vedas* are eternal in point of existence, and self-immanent in point of authority, and as regards the authorship of their composition it cannot be ascribed to any being in existence either temporally or

spatially. (3) There has always been throughout all the time recorded in human memory, a large community of men in existence whose members, under the leadership of its elite, have all along conscientiously endeavoured to direct and regulate their way of life, in conformity with the *Vedic* precepts, in the faith that the Vedic philosophy and way of life, as presented by the acts enjoined in these precepts, shall certainly lead them to the attainment of the ultimate goal of '*Mokṣa*' i.e. self-realisation : and this would be so, notwithstanding the fact that the observance of these precepts might involve them in heavy material losses and severe sensory privations, austerities and denials. (4) *Smṛtis*, which are works of human authorship and, therefore, might be ascribed in regard to their composition to different sages separated from each other both spatially and temporally, are also to be held as the repositories of such precepts, as primarily they are understood to yield (a) results which are imperceptible to senses *(Adṛṣṭārtha)*. It is admitted that in the *Smṛti* precepts there are some that yield (b) results perceptible to senses *(Dṛṣṭārtha)*, and certain others, that yield (c) both perceptible and imperceptible results *(Dṛṣṭādṛṣṭārtha)*. The *Smṛti* precepts that come under class (a) are of paramount value as these must have their origins in the *Vedas* ; and so would be the case with the precepts coming under class (c) because of their containing the attribute of yielding partially imperceptible results. Their authorship cannot have originated with any human being because of the insurmountable objection of a human being, endowed with sense organs of limited capacity, assuring truthfully the beneficial or evil nature of imperceptible results ; yet the fact, that all these *Smṛti* precepts are actually in the continual practice from immemorially ancient times in an unbroken tradition of the members of the Vedic community, generation after generation, is a guarantee of the *Vedic origin* of all such precepts.

When the actual way of life of the members of the thousand and one sections and groups belonging to this *Vedic* community is taken into consideration by reference to their customs, usages and practices, the following points are convincingly brought home viz. (5) The members of the immensely big *Vedic* community, where innumerable racial and tribal groups of entirely different territorial origin have been assimilated together under the all-pervasive umbrella of the authority of the *Vedas*, have, in the main, been conscientiously found to be following the directions of the *Vedic* and the *Smṛti* precepts, as also a very large number of practices from times immemorially ancient, *in full faith* of the efficacy of these practices (for which the precepts, in which they ought to have been articultated are not traceable in either the extant *Vedas* or *Smṛtis*)

yielding long-range and imperceptible beneficial results. They are also noticed as conscientiously avoiding certain actions and courses of conduct under the belief that they would yield imperceptible but from the long range point of view evil results. These practices, that are (a) mostly universal, (b) observed from immemorially ancient times, and (c) held to be obligatory, are known as coming under the class of *Sadācāra*, and they are a real souice of D*harma*, although the corresponding precepts are not today traceable to the *Vedas*, they are assumed to be derived from that source. This assumption is rebuttable only on any text of the *Vedas*, or of any *Smṛti* shown to exist and which directly discountenances the practice. (6) Besides these there are several other practices which are, in the main, peculiar to different sections and groups ; these serve the purpose of being supplementary to the integrated life, common and individual, of the entire *Vedic* community, as delinated in the precepts of the *Vedas*, and the *Smṛtis*. Their purpose is to serve as the guide-lines to different groups and sections in respect of those matters of their mundane life, which are not covered by the rules of the articulate D*harma*. But their authority and validity depend on the directives manifested by these being in conformity with the main stream of the *Vedic* philosophy and way of life, as understood and ascertained in the immemorially ancient tradition, which still continues to bind the Vedic community. These practices may be observed for their short term results perceptible to the sense as they do not obstruct the progress of any individual towards the final goal. They constitute the major part of the *Caritra* class of usages and practices. And as they are accepted as serving the purpose of giving fullness and coherence to the *Vedic* way of life, with its spiritual and mundane sides, they are to be given effect to when pleaded by way of defence in matters of litigous disputes. These practices, which might have had their origin either in conventions among the members of well-defined sections and groups, or in the unconscious but necessary development of the fuller and more complex mundane aspect of the *Vedic* way of life. They might be said to have attained the status of 'Custom', as has been sometimes noticed by administrators, judges ànd legislators, in the days of the British rule over India. But these customs, can never become a source of D*harma*, that is to say what a *Sadācara* is, in spite of the fact that there could have been no objection, on the part of the traditional expositors of D*harma*, to the administration of justice giving due recognition to such customs and usages as *Caritra* in their respective spheres.

(7) Additionally, it cannot be denied that men, either individually, or as members of sections and groups of the Vedic community, are found indulging in doing acts, and observing

practices, which being directly opposed to the tenor of Vedic philosophy and way of life, are designated as *Anācāra*. Human beings are known to be weak, and prone to fall a prey to the pleasures of the flesh, while engaged in disciplining various organs of the body, including the mind, by the exercise of those kinds of restraints as are laid down in the *Śāstra*. In fact precepts of *Dharma* are mainly concerned with enjoining such acts and practices as would result in disciplining the body and mind by the constant and conscientious exercise thereof. There is also present a standing precept of *Dharma* to effect that by letting any of the organs loose a man commits a sin, that is, an *anti-Dhārmic* act. Both Manu ann Yājñavalkya declare :

अनिग्रहाच्चेन्द्रियाणां नरः पतनमृच्छति ।।

"A person becomes degraded, falls down from the status assigned to him in the social order, by indulging in acts pleasurable to the senses". But such of the sinful acts as have become deep-rooted habits (on account of their being indulged in over a long period of time, continuously by all the members of particular sections and groups) spread over ascertainable spheres of the Vedic community, these are also sometimes designated *Caritra* of such groups and sections. They are anti-Dhārmic practices, and their continued indulgence is harmful to the preservation of the integrated inter-dependent life of the community. Yet on account of their vogue it would be unwise for the political ruler to attempt forcibly to reform the people from these anti-Dhārmic habits, suddenly by the application of the physical force at his command. He, and the Brāhmaṇas (who are made jointly responsible by the *Śāstra* to perserve the community intact on the *Vedic* way of life) should devise such means by whose introduction these habits will gradually tend towards becoming unpopular. This would be possible for them by preaching among, and thus training, the people on the importance of the doctrines and precepts of *Dharma* ; and where a large number of the members of such sections and groups have, by use of these peaceful means, been weaned out of the anti-Dhārmic habits, and these habits have become sufficiently unpopular among their erstwhile practitioners, then it would be the proper time for the King, the political ruler to promulgate his edict or ordinance and suppress indulgence in them on the pain of infliction of punishment to the individual sinners and wrong-doers. This is the process, by having recourse to which, a *Caritra of anti-Dhārmic* content is to be subordinated to *Rāja Śāsana* or King's edict, by the administrators of justice, in a judicial tribunal. (8) And finally, there are *Anācāras*, or sinful acts or crimes indulged in individually, which have not reached the status of *Caritra*, by being spread over

a whole section or group, and are abhered by the generality of the members of the community, including even those of the groups or sections from which such delinquents have come. As in such cases there is no apprehension of a popularly supported revolt cropping up on the administration of the normal rules of *Vyavahāra Dharma*, the question of promulgation of a King's ordinance would not arise.

The position universally upheld by traditional expositers of *Kharma Śāstra* on the nature of *Smṛti* precepts and *Ācāra*, and their mutual relationship has been summarised in the above stated explanation as given in the serial order between (1) and (8). Modern interpreters, on the other hand, have, as typified in Derrett's thesis, attributed dishonesty, fraud and conspiracy to manufacture bogus scriptural texts, to them. In support of his argument to prove the thesis. Darrett has quoted four verses of Bṛhaspati, one verse of Nārada, and eighteen of Kātyāyana with his-own translations appended to them. Nārada's verse is well known :

धर्मश्च व्यवहारश्च चरित्रं राजशासनम् ।
चतुष्पाद् व्यवहारोऽयमुत्तरः पूर्वबाधकः ।।

This is almost identical in its import with the first among the four verses of *Bṛhaspati* quoted by him :

धर्मेण व्यवहारेण चरित्रेण नृपाज्ञया ।
चतुष्प्रकारोऽभिहितः संदिग्धेऽर्थे विनिर्णयः ।।

In the verse of Nārada, the overriding authority of each succeeding criterion or mode of deciding a dispute over its immediate former, has been enunciated. The above quoted verse of *Bṛhaspati* enumerates the same four criteria or modes of deciding disputes, and in the other *three* verses the proposition stated in Nārada's verse has been repeated. These verses of Narada and Bṛhaspati are dealt with in the *Smṛti Candrikā* and *Viramitrodaya* and the two traditional expositors of these works, although separated from each other by a gap of *five* hundred years ; and the former, a Southerner and the latter, a Northerner have arrived eretcly at the same interpretation of these verses. The logical consistency, and the overall coherence of their stand has been presented in this paper.

Derrett has however, by giving novel meanings to the terms '*Dharma*' and '*Vyavahāra*' has apparently decided to reject the traditional expositions of these verses. According to him *Dharma* in the context of these verses means the *Śāstra* (or the *Dharma Śāstra* whose precepts are to be found in *Smṛtis*, etc.) and *Vyavahāra*, means 'business' or 'Practice'. The traditionally

accepted meanings of these two terms, in this context, are 'juridical righteousness', and 'the criterion of deciding a dispute by adducing evidence' respectively. Similarly, Derrett has rendered the Sanskrit term *Caritra* by use of the English terms 'Custom' or 'usage'. However, as stated above, *Caritra* and *Sadācāra,* although capable of being rendered in English as 'custom', they are radically different from each other, and whereas *Sadācāra* is a well known source of *Dharma* i.e. the *discipline which is efficacious in leading the person, who exercises* it, *to self-realisation, Caritra* is only a criterion or mode of deciding litigous disputes among different parties on special occasions. He has nowhere in his paper referred to this clear distinction between the two, although the following verses of Kātyāyana and Brhaspati, which he has quoted in his paper, make the nature of *Caritra* very clear : यद्यदाचर्यते येन धर्म्यं वाऽधर्म्यमेव वा । देशस्याचरणान्नित्यं चरित्रं तत्प्रकीर्तितम् ।। प्रतिलोमप्रसूतेषु तथा दुर्गनिवासिषु । विरुद्धं नियतं प्राहुः तं धर्मं न विचालयेत् ।। निर्णयं तु यथा कुर्यात् तेन धर्मेण पार्थिवः । व्यवहारश्चरित्रेण तदा तेनैव बाध्यते । विरुद्धं न्यायतो यत्तु चरित्रं कल्प्यते नृपैः । एवं तत्र निरस्यते चरित्रं तु नृपाज्ञया ।। (कात्यायनः) Bṛhaspati's verses make the nature of *Caritra* still more clear :

देशस्थित्याऽनुमानेन नैगमानुमतेन च ।
क्रियते निर्णयस्तत्र व्यवहारस्तु बाध्यते ।।
विहाय चरिताचारम् यत्र कुर्यात् पुनर्नृपः ।
निर्णयं स तु राजाज्ञा चरित्रं बाध्यते तया ।। (बृहस्पतिः)

These verses are clearly indicative of the nature of *Caritra* as conventional usages (or even immoral practices) of special sections and groups of the community.

All modern students proceed to understand the nature of relations between textual law and practice on the hypothesis of a sort of historical sequence existing between the two. They do so on the analogy of what is witnessed by them in today's socio-legal relations. Usages already prevalent in mercantile communities led to the enactment of laws on partnership, sale of goods, negotiable instruments etc. On the other hand, pressing social needs led, in the first instance to the legislation, on several matters falling under civil wrongs as well as regulation of labours' relations with their employers, and practice followed the enacted law. A similar kind of sequence is supposed to exist here also. They i.e. the modern students of law, are in the habit of assuming that, in most cases, changes in usages are made by the people, by their own unfettered volition, which necessitate (when they become over-whelming) alteration and abrogations in the existing written law. But this would involve them in making some more unavoidable assumptions,

These would be : (a) The earlier usages were also the result of having been adopted by the unfettered volition of the members of the groups, sections, or the whole community. (b) Neither any person nor anybody, whose possession of political power or social or spiritual authority over the community, that historically existed was ever required to be instrumental in bringing about the necessary alterations in written law ; and (c) somehow or other, an effective majority of the members of the group, section or the community with one accord, gave up their beliefs in the spiritual efficacy of the acts that were being done earlier on the strength of old usages, and adopted new ones in their place. All these (and some other similar) assumptions, strike as so very artificial and weak, that it would be rediculous to build upon their foundation, the thesis of changes constantly taking place, by this facile process in the well-integrated common life of the Vedic community.

In his other paper "The Role of Dharma Śāstra in Modern comparative Legal History". Derrett has indulged in making a far more bitter as well as sarcastic attack than in the paper under survey, on not only the old type expositors of *Dharma* but on *Dharma Śāstra itself*. He observes (pp. 52-53) : "The other-worldly tone (of *Dhārmic* Precepts) creates suspicion. The only real sanction bearing upon the king is *superstitious*......Those who do not believe in Karma or rebirth are almost without sanction, so far as Shastric law is concerned." And again (p. 53) "A system of law which relies heavily, and in critical places, exclusively, upon superstitious sanctions, is one which has no faith in social cohesion", (p. 53) "Occult interpretations of civil institutions are a fraud. A marriage which has broken down as a fact, does not continue to exist upon some heavenly plane which no one sees. Legitimacy does not depend upon whether a certain formula were or were not pronounced by a person having or not having certain occult attributes, at the time when the parents were brought together...The notions of Karma, of transmigration, of suffering after death for breaches in this life, and other superstitious sanctions, which bolster up the shastric rules have no objective existence—They are figments of imagination, which have served a turn, but which cannot operate on well-trained minds, accidental or oriental. They constitute on the contrary a flight from the objective. The fantastic claims which were made for the *Śastra*...are hostile to its (study) being pursued by people with real intellectual equipment".

If the face of such an attack, the traditional expositor would deem to make this humble reply : "*Dharma Śāstra* which can justify its existence as a system of social discipline, *only* on its aim to secure stability of civil institutions that would secure a climate

of justice, harmony and contentment for the members of the community, integrated in a common life, and which holds out to each of the members, the attainment of the goal of self-realisation, finds it absolutely necessary to depend simultaneously on *three* varieties of sanctions for the satisfactory operation of its rules. They are stated clearly in the well-known verse of *Hārīta* Smṛti :

गुरुरात्मवतां शास्ता राजा शास्ता दुरात्मनाम् ।
अथ प्रच्छन्नपापानां शास्ता वैवस्वतो यमः ॥

And if Derrett and other modern students were to show same consideration for the study of all the parts of that *Śāstra*, they will come to realise that the methods of inculcating the sense of obligation towards the observance of the disciplinary rules laid down therein, are far more efficacious than the methods adopted today in either liberal democratic societies or socialistic auto-eratic societies.

KAUTALYA AND MODERN THOUGHT

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Kauṭalya is one of the foremost political thinkers of ancient India. The whole of Arthaśāstra reflects a philosophy which places reason on the top of other considerations in life. Success of a King is determined by his capacity of critical appreciation of various aspects of a given situation. His or any individual's strength lies in perceiving the truth and choosing an efficient course of action.[1]

To Kauṭalya, the course of history was a manifestation of success and failure of sound intellectual judgment. Kauṭalya quotes instances when Kings swayed by emotions, sentiments and passions met their bitter end.[2] Kauṭalya's intellectualism is a moral in the sense that he is objective in his approach to all problems. He looks at human failing as human behaviour and takes it for granted while laying down regulatory injuctions.

Systematic exercise of intellect together with objectivity of approach form the core of modern thinking. By the very nature of the process, moral considerations remain in suspended animation. Kauṭalya collected the data not only from the past but also from the contemporary society, analysed the causes of inefficiency and degeneration in the body-politic of his State and formulated his prescriptions and regulations. The ethical and moral texture of his social order consists in realistic acceptance of current practices[3]

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1. न संसारभयं ज्ञानवताम् । विज्ञानदीपेन संसार भयं निवर्तते । चाणक्य सूत्र 564, 565 .
2. यथा दाण्डस्यो नाम मोजः कामाद् ब्राह्मण कन्यामभिमन्यमानः सबंधु राष्ट्री विननाश । करालश्च वैदेहः । कौपाज्जनमेजयो ब्राह्मणेषु विक्रांतः—लोभादैल-श्चातुर्वर्ण्यत्याहारयमाणः—मानात् रावणः परदारान प्रयच्छन् ।
   अर्थशास्त्रम् 1 । 6 । 3
3. गणिका, सुराध्यक्ष, सूनाध्यक्ष । —अर्थशास्त्रम्

and so regulating them that they do not disrupt the socio-economic and political harmony of the State and welfare of the individual. In the political and diplomatic fields he is more harsh. But there were valid reasons for it. Brutal Hellenic invasion of the country and weak, corrupt Kings like Nanda compelled him to suggest measures and devices which are repugnant to moral conscience. But the modern international scene does not appear to be very different. Inspite of the highest ideals incorporated in the UNO Charter, big and small nations employ inhuman expediencies for achieving diplomatic objectives. It is a primitive tendency to resort to such actions in an atmosphere of mutual distrust and fear. The difference between Kauṭalya's thesis and today's international practices is that he had no ideological pretensions while modern States commit genocide and word their requiems in high philosophical rythms.

Kauṭalya disagrees with many of his predecessors. There is an intellectual debate in which he highlights his disagreement and states his opinion in a direct manner. At this point, I am reminded of Bertrand Russel who has said—

> "Let men, let even teachers differ the debate ; out of such diverse opinions will come an intelligent relativity of belief[4]...... Life and knowledge are today so complex that only by free discussion can we pick our way through errors and prejudices to that total perspective which is truth."[5]

Kauṭalya's insistence on teaching of 'Ānvīkṣikī' as a super Science was very much futuristic in nature. Ānvīkṣikī as envisaged by Kauṭalya appears to symbolize a critical grasp of generalities of substantial particulars.[6] This is very much modern because we largely talk of philosophy in this very sense. G. K. Chesterton has wittingly said that a landlady must know the philosophy of life of her prospective tenant.

Secularism in religious matters

Secularism is a very recondite idea. A non-religious i. e. 'Laukika' approach is a secular approach, but it is misunderstood to be a non-spiritual approach. As we all know within the comprehensive fold of Hinduism there are a number of faiths all basing on different interpretations of scriptures. Several sects have been woven

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4. शुश्रूषाश्रवण ग्रहण धारण विज्ञानोहापोहतत्वाभिनिविष्टबुद्धि विद्या विनयति नेतरम् । —अर्थशास्त्रम् 1 । 5 । 2
5. *Why men fight*—Bertrand Russel. pp, 101.
6. शास्त्रप्रयोजनं तत्वदर्शनम् (543) चाणक्य-सूत्राणि ।

round Indian Gods and Goddesses. They have occasionally come into conflict with one another but generally co-existed under the same roof. This presents a rudimentory structure of the base, on which India has built up her modern edifice of secularism. Kṛṣṇa in the *Bhagavad Gītā* has given substance to this word by saying—

यो यो यां यां तनुं भक्तः श्रद्धयार्चितुमिच्छति ।
तस्य तस्याचलां श्रद्धां तामेव विदधाम्यहम् ।।
स तया श्रद्धया युक्तस्तस्याराधनमीहते ।
लभते च ततः कामान्मयैव विहितान्हितान् ।।
अव्यक्तं व्यक्तिमापन्नं मन्यते मामबुद्धयः ।
परं भावमजानन्तो ममाव्ययमनुत्तमम् ।।[7]

Here Kṛṣṇa speaks as the Supreme Being. This Being alone is the ultimate object of worship. Here is a positive liberal attitude in the complex religious situation of ancient India. Before the advent of Kauṭalya, Buddhism had emerged as a strong and appealing religion and had established itself as a great socio-political force. This naturally had great impact on the mind of a political thinker like Kauṭalya whose chief aim was welfare and solidarity of a State populated by people of different faiths. Buddhism's main appeal was rejection of Varṇa hierarchy and equality of all people in the eyes of religion. Kauṭalya had to take cognizance of this fact inspite of his preachings for Vedic way of life. He therefore, tried to accommodate all faiths.

According to Varṇa system, Śūdras are supposed to be serving others in a subordinate position. This has not been emphasised by Kauṭalya, as it is done by other writers such as Manu. As pointed out by Shri R. P. Kangle,[8] it is also remarkable that the text refers to troops recruited from all the four Varṇas. Kauṭalya, unlike the Smṛtikāras who extolled Brahmin army, has said that a well-trained army of any Varṇa besides the Brahmins can be as good. Śūdra can also be recruited to the State army. Another point which the same scholar has discerned in *Artha-Śāstra* is that Śūdra has been treated by Kauṭalya as an Āryan community as distinguished from Mleccha or non-Āryan communities. *Artha-Śāstra* also forbids the pledging of a minor belonging to even Śūdra community.

Liberality in respect of religio-cultural affairs is evident when Kauṭalya prescribes that 'Vijigīṣu' having conquered a Kingdom

7. *Bhagavad Gītā* 7/21, 22, 24.
8. *The Kauṭalya Artha Śāstra*, Part III. University of Bombay.

should try to identify himelf with the people in respect of behaviour dress and language so that he is acceptable to them.[9] When we think of an integrated approach to Hinduism and Buddhism, Kauṭalya seems to be bringing them together at the social and political level.[10] For any State to be strong, mutual appreciation and social cohesion through political integration is very important. Kauṭalya harmonized them in *Artha Śāstra* as pointed out by Sri M. V. Krishna Rao.[11] He says : "Buddhism stood for freedom of society, freedom for the individual and freedom for thought, while Brahamanic Hinduism stood for supremacy of mind over senses or spirit over matter". This was a very effective, rational and futuristic approach. It is new in the sense that it is strikingly liberal in its treatment of citizens who are expected to observe their faiths and yet participate as efficient citizens in social, cultural and political matters having ultimate allegience to the State.

Kauṭalya also seems to have appreciated the importance of 'Ahiṃsā' in the Buddhist sense. The *Artha Śāstra* prohibits suicide and castration of animals. This however, does not prove that he was largely committed to *Ahiṃsā* but it is clear that the impact of Buddhism was slowly penetrating the political thought of his age.[12]

Education in Artha-Śāstra

Education seems to form a very important part as a dynamic force for achievement of the entire plan of the State as envisaged by Kauṭalya. He prescribes not only liberal education but also technical and professional education to sustain and develop various activities of the society. In this paper, I want to draw your pointed attention to his definition of Education. It has been expressed as a process and divided into various steps on psychological grounds. Kauṭalya seems to be a believer in an integrated body-mind entity and he conceives of intellectual power as a dynamic physical force. He lays down—

> "For, from hearing (śruta) ensues knowledge ; from knowledge steady application (Yoga) is possible ; and from

9. तस्मात्समानशीलवेषभाषाचारतामुपगच्छेत्
देश दैवत समाजोत्सव विहारेषु च भक्तिमनवर्तेत् ।

—अर्थशास्त्रम् 13 । 5 । 176

10. धर्मादपि व्यवहारो गरीयान् 546 चाणक्य सूत्राणि ।
11. *Studies in Kauṭalya,* Munshi Ram Manohar Lal, New Delhi.
12. अहिंसालक्षणो धर्मः-560 मांसभक्षणम् अयुक्त सर्वेषाम्-562

चाणक्य सूत्राणि

application self-possession (ātmavattā) is possible. This is what is meant by efficiency of learning (vidyāsāmarthyam)".[13]

Śruta conveys learning by hearing but Kauṭalya has else-where pointed out that congenital differences do play a very important part in making education effective.[14] What is of greater significance to the modern thought is that Kauṭalya has meticulously amplified the process śruta i.e. learning. Learning to be effective must have motivation (desire to learn i. e. Śuśrūṣā), attentive reception (Śravaṇa), comprehension (grahaṇa), retention (dhāraṇa), analytical appreciation (ūha-apoha), dynamic assimilation as an integrated part of intellect (Abhiniviṣṭa-buddhitva). This is what happens between Śruta and Prajñā. The learner does not seem to be a passive recepient of knowledge. On the contrary, his mind is supposed to be analysing i e. inter-acting before assimilation. The assimilation of knowledge then integrates with the whole personality and lends motive-potential to the intellect. I have come to believe that Kauṭalya must have been treating men as body-mind or an organismic entity. He had a host of problems to solve and a composite community to consolidate. Therefore, his intellectualism necessarily has a pragmatic functional bearing.

J. H. Brubacher, one of the well-known American authorities on education writes[15] : "The pragmatic educator conceives the normative role of intelligence quite differently. Concerned with solving practical problems rather than penetrating the true nature of reality......he conceives of intelligence in the role of an instrument in formulating and testing hypothetical solutions to his difficulties..... the pragmatist thinks of intelligence as appearing to facilitate the superior organic adaptation of men to his physical and social environment. Consequently, the pragmatist in the school is not given to cultivating intellectual excellence on its own account but rather to refining it as the instrument of human adaptation to a precarious world." What else could have motivated Kauṭalya to formulate his theory of education than the difficult problems of his days and need to adapt people and their King to the precarious political and social environment.

This premise leads us to the logical import of the word *Yoga* in the *Vidyā Sūtra* in question. Of course, it is *Citta-Vṛtti nirodhaḥ*

13. Translation by Shama Sastry
श्रुताद्धि प्रज्ञोपजायते प्रज्ञयायोगो योगादात्मवत्ता इति विद्यासामथ्र्यम् ।
—अर्थशास्त्रम् 1 । 5 । 2
14. क्रियाहिद्रव्यं विनयति नाद्रव्यम् । —अर्थशास्त्रम् 1 । 5 । 2
15. *Modern Philosophies of Education*, Mc Graw Hill, p. 83.

but the meaning does not get stagnated at that. It extends to the result of such a practice and signifies *Karmasu Kauśalam.* No problem can be solved properly, no situation can be tackled effectively unless one attains skill or dexterity in action. The great modern philosopher Dewey has said that the proper role of intelligence is to solve problems. According to him, intellect is an agent of adaptation. Relations of intelligence to the environment are functional. Given a situation in the present whose outcome is uncertain and precarious, it becomes the function of intelligence to anticipate the future, envisage a number of alternative courses. Spot out the most efficient one and materialize in the shape of a skillful response Successful response develops self-confidence in the individual. Efficiency of education, according to Kauṭalya, consists in equipping the mind of the individual with knowledge which has been critically built up to develop efficient functional-potential for a given life situation, and consequently create self-confidence and self-reliance in him.

The role of *Anvīkṣikī* in the educational process enunciated by Kauṭalya is of integration of various disciplines of study. He differs from Bṛhaspati and others that it has its own supreme importance. According to him, it is like a lamp to all the *Vidyās* and accomplisher of all actions. It also is the base of Vedic and Laukika *Dharmas.*[16] Thus, in effect, it creates inter-disciplinary perspective in the personality of the individual and develops intuitive analytical-synthetic master mechanism of comprehending isolated, gross or imperceptible situations in terms of their underlying schemes. It helps in designing responses to strengthen a net-work of larger and more comprehensive objectives. The modern educational thought very much strives to achieve this very thing. Contexts do differ considerably but the fundamental plans are similar.

There is much more to study in Kauṭalya's theory of education in order to see its relevance to the things of modern India and world at large. At least his insistence on discipline and his attitude towards the senses wherein he does not repudiate them but prescribes their redirection, are as relevant today as they could have been in his days. The greatness of Kauṭalya lies in suggesting behavioral patterns with an underlying philosophy extending far beyond his times without indulging in confounding abstract generalities.

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16. प्रदीपः सर्वविद्यानामुपायः सर्वकर्मणाम्
आश्रयः सर्वधर्माणां शश्वदान्वीक्षिकी मता । *Artha Śāstra 1/2/1*

THE GĪTĀ AND PROGRESSIVE IDEAS
RELEVANCE OF GĪTĀ TODAY

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The *Bhagavad Gītā* came as a synthesis of the teachings of the Upaniṣads. Even so, the popularity, authority, and status of the *Gītā* is unique. The reasons are obvious. The language is simpler, the compass is small, the form is that of a dialogue and discourse. The author is Vyāsa, known as the author of the *Mahābhārata*. The teaching is by Kṛṣṇa, the incarnation of God. It is also one of the three source books (Prasthāna Trayī—Upaniṣads, *Brahma-Sūtras*, and *Gītā*) of Vedic Philosophy. One who writes a coordinating commentary on all these three source books, is usually called an Ācārya. The three great Ācāryās, Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja, and Madhva are well known. In recent times, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a freedom fighter of India, utilised his six years in jail in Mandalay to write an elaborate commentary in Marathi on the *Gītā*. He called it 'Gītā Rahasya'. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan and Dr. R. D. Ranade have both written, in English, commentaries on the *Prasthāna Trayī* and may be called modern Ācāryās. Sri Aurobindo's "Essays on the Gita" are well-known. Mahatma Gandhi's translation of the *Gītā* is called "Anāsakti Yoga", 'the Yoga of Non-attachment'. It can be broadly said that leaders of the Indian Renaissance, which may be said to be still on, beginning from Raja Ram Mohan Roy to Jawaharlal Nehru, were influenced by the teachings of the *Gītā*.

Gītā is comparatively a very small book in 700 verses—but the subjects it has dealt with, though very briefly, are many and concern the whole life of man, inner as well as outer, and his relationship with everything he comes in contact and also his Maker, religion and spirituality, philosophy and metaphysics, yoga and mysticism, ethics and morals, psychology and sociology, and several other aspects are considered in the perspective of human

life, its purpose, its future and so on. With all the several commentaries and criticisms available, it can be said with some truth that *Gītā* still awaits an analytical study of the type of *'Constructive Survey of Upanishadic Philosophy'* by Dr. R. D. Ranade.

Since the *Gītā* is the Sacred book of the Hindus, that it should have a pride of place with every Hindu, is but natural. But what we are concerned here with is the relevance of its thought and its teaching in an age which is progressing at a rapid pace and has already outlived the atomic age and is entering the space age. A rationalist, a materialist, an atheist, a secular-minded man who is concerned more with his bread and butter here and now, whether these persons belong to the Hindu fold or not, they are not likely to believe in the incarnation of God, in the other word, in sacredness of scriptures. They would rather believe in what the test tube proves in the laboratory and what the technological skills can achieve. Even for them, has the Gita any lesson ?

It is true that we are living in an age different from that of the *Gītā*. But it is also true that inspite of science and technology, the advances in the means of transportation and communication, in the midst of numerous gadgets which have made life easier though more complicated, the human being has continued to search for peace and happiness, for a mental and spiritual poise which could rise above inner storms and imbalances, for an individual and social joy which would not be upset by ups and downs and the vicissitudes of life. In fact, even man's relentless pursuit for knowledge through science is ultimately for happiness and poise and joy. The recent birth and development of social sciences is in the same direction of harmony and joy. The recent intense probe into psychology, brainology, and other sciences of the mind, thought, personality and so on is also for the purpose of making man happier, more joyful and for raising him to a being of higher level who would enjoy freedom from war, fear, want, ignorance and disease.

Whatever other benefits man has been able to enjoy as a result of the age of science and technology, the age of the atom and space, the greatest benefit is, to my mind, the expansion of his consciousness, envisaging its future depth. Today man is one humanity and is thinking globally and not tribally, though vestiges of tribal thinking are not yet wholly eliminated.

It is this global thinking, the thinking about man as one mass of humanity, as belonging to one species of *Homo Sapiens*, which has made it possible, at least for intellectuals, to come out of their shells of race, religion, nationality, language etc. and extend their vision equally to all races, religions and so on.

So far as religions are concerned, Gandhi emphasised the idea of 'equal respect for all religions', 'Sarvadharma-samabhāva' and included it in the vows of his Ashramites. He himself scored the major religions of the world and found that there is truth in every religion and it is one's duty to respect all religions without the sense of superiority. There is a religion of religions, the religion of humanity, above and beyond the doctrinal, ritualistic, institutionalised and other dogmatic aspects of different religions. It is that religion, the law of spiritual elevation and illumination at which man has to aim, and ultimately achieve. It is not enough to look upon all men and women as human beings only ; we have to go one step further, and perceive in each being a spark of consciousness, a spiritual entity, struggling to reach unity and unitive life with all beings and share the symphony of the spheres. It is only then that the gates, otherwise closed, of the Vedas and Upaniṣads, of *Bhagavadgītā*, of *Dhammapada*, of the Bible, of the Koran and other religious scriptures will open and yield their secrets to man, for, 'a Bible ; a sacred word' has been given to each people, and prophets have uttered it to them from time to time.

It is only all-round effective communication which has made it possible for our consciousness to widen and realise the oneness of humanity. The result is that now, man and all that he means, his past, his present and his future is the concern of every thinker. It is a truism to say that the proper study of man is man. Man is the measure of things. Man's scriptures had, and are even now having, powerful influence in moulding his basic ideas about life, its purpose, its direction, ideas about ethics and morality ; man's motivation takes its direction from them ; he derives his inspiration from the scriptures. It is in this context that *Gītā* has to be viewed.

For the last two thousand years if not more, the *Gītā* has served the people of India as a sacred text, to which they have resorted, for ethical and moral guidance, for spiritual inspiration, for inner illumination and for making their lives nobler, happier and more purposeful. The *Gītā* still continues to be The Book, and a scripture for about five hundred million people. If the *Gītā* lifted Arjuna from the slough of despondency in those distant days and made him respond to the call of the duty of a Kshatriya to fight the battle of righteousness, it has equally inspired Indian leaders in the twentieth century to fight the battle for Swarāj and win it. Today it continues to be the inspiring word, the strength-giving moral support, and the unfailing spiritual guidance of millions upon millions.

If we want to lose the least and gain the most from the study of the *Gītā*, we should not waste time over some of the superficial, peripheral, trappings which are likely to clog our path to the inner core of the *Gītā*. Many people and a few scholars are repeatedly seen trying to answer some questions like the following : were Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna historical personages ? How could such a conversation go on when the battle was to begin in a matter of minutes? Was Kṛṣṇa an incarnation of God ? Is there any truth in the theory of incarnation ? Is there rebirth ? Is the vision of the Cosmic Puruṣa a possibility ? and so on.

Kṛṣṇa himself in the course of the discourse at the end says that he who has faith and is not envious of me would be fully benefitted and that the message need not be conveyed to those who are not devoted and not anxious to know things. Sañjaya the war-correspondent, who reports the *Gītā* to Dhṛtarāṣṭra rounds up the discourse by saying, 'this was a wonderful discourse between the Master of Yoga, that is Kṛṣṇa, and the great Archer Arjuna; wherever they are, there is wealth, success and prosperity'. After all, when everything is said and done about mythology, historicity and such other matters, the fact of the great creative artist Vyāsa is there, and we have the *Gītā* before us, with the teaching embodied in it. Gandhi, whose debt to *Gītā* is undoubted, called it an allegory. That did not deter or diminish the power that the *Gītā* exercised over him. So, without looking into the incidentals, we may proceed to see what *Gītā* means to us today.

For any teaching or philosophy or gospel to be relevant to our times, it should be able to solve problems of moral crisis and conscience, in the human condition which obtains today. *Gītā*, in essence, is a philosophy of life and action, it must inspire us with new hopes; it should be able to clear the cobwebs which confuse our minds so often; it should show us a way of life which should be a moral way leading to spiritual elevation; it should be able to lift us from the doubtful positions of 'to be or not to be' and convince us that 'to be' is the only stand worthy of a heroic person.

Gītā is a gospel of ethical action based on faith in the eternal law of causation, which in the case of man, is the law of Karma or Action. The *Gītā* assures us that action which is based on a certain poise of non-attachment and done as a part and parcel of the cosmic process without egoism, does not bind the doer. The *Gītā* is an inspiring text which can fill us with hope in the moral order of this world. The *Gītā* serves as an effective remedy both

psychological and spiritual, against the crisis of faith, and loss of moral on account of emotional stresses and strains.

Shorn of all myths, freed from manifestations of occult powers deprived of historicity and references to the past or the future, keeping aside all metaphysics and such other subjects which casually peep in, the *Gītā* stands, in the present and for the present, as a perennial source of inspiration to do one's duty to which man is called, according to his nature, to his own law of being and social obligation. The *Gītā* shows the way for rising above one's self and beyond it, and act in tune with cosmic forces. *Gītā* is a compendium of manifold Yoga, the Yoga of action, the Yoga of devotion, the Yoga of Knowledge and wisdom, the Yoga of meditation, and the finally, Yoga of identity and unity of the individual self with the universal Self.

I am not suggesting here something original or fantastic in trying to arrive at the core of the teaching of the *Gītā*. *Kurukṣetra*, the scene of the battle, is not somewhere outside, but the human mind itself is the cock-pit of struggles between good and evil, right and wrong, truth and false-hood. It is there in the human mind itself, *Dharma* or the law of being and becoming has to assert itself with the help of conscience or inner light. The constant dialogue goes on and it is within the experience of each person, each group of persons, be it a corporation or a nation or even an international body. It may be said that this dialogue between Arjuna, tormented and miserable, and Kṛṣṇa, the un-disturbed and self-confident Yogi, is like the dialogue between the Ego and the Super-Ego, the individual self and the universal self, between the soul and the Oversoul (of Emerson), between the mind with limited powers and the Supermind (of Sri Aurobindo), between the pigmy man and the giant Superman within, between the human element and the Divinity in man, or it may be between the microcosm and the Macrocosm.'

In the *Gītā*, we have a human situation which is typical, and almost everyone who observes what goes on within himself is aware of such situations. Every normal human being is often confronted with conflict of duties. The choice is not so much between good and evil, because such a conflict is too obvious to need any hesitation in decision-making. But when the choice is between two goods, it is often difficult to decide. In Sanskrit it is called *Dharma-saṅkaṭa*, choice between one *Dharma* and another *Dharma* 'To be or Not to be', 'to do or not to do' or similar problems often plague the mind of man. When the actions of this type involve social

good or otherwise, the problem becomes more complicated and a clear decision is not easy to arrive at.

Arjuna was in that kind of predicament. He was a born Kṣatriya. He was conscious of his powers as an archer-warrior of repute. He was confident of victory in the ensuing war. And yet when faced with the prospect of killing his own kith and kin in war, presumably for a kingdom, he suffered a moral crisis, collapse of morale, a nervous break-down and a physical disability. It was from this typical condition of moral conflict and nervous collapse that Kṛṣṇa restores Arjuna to his original condition of being a mighty hero, makes him fight and win, but without the sense of guilt or sin attaching to an action which involved the killing of several warriors belonging to his own family and race. Kṛṣṇa tells him that he has to stand up and act as a dutiful Kṣatriya born to fight battles of righteousness, be they against his own brothers, he is to act as an instrument in the hands of cosmic forces which are already acting ; if duties are done without attachment to the fruit thereof, with dedication to the Supreme Spirit, and without egoism, such duties and everything done in the pursuit of such duties does not bind the doer, as it is 'free action', action like the flow of a river, or rain from heaven. The doer remains free and rises above the normal bondage of the cycle of action-reaction. Non-attachment is the shock-absorber and dedication is the uplifter.

At the beginning of the dialogue, Arjuna says that he is the disciple. 'Please direct me, I have approached you for guidance', is the refrain. At the end of the dialogue, Kṛṣṇa says, 'I have given you the secret of secrets, do you as you would like to.' The response of Arjuna is, 'My delusion has dissolved itself. I have regained my poise by your grace. I am now free from all doubt and shall abide by your advice.'

In this process of restoring the morale of Arjuna, and lifting him from the moral crisis in which he found himself, Kṛṣṇa has used almost every kind of arguement and has given to mankind a philosophy of life and action which has stood the test of time and continues to inspire people. Kṛṣṇa starts rebuking Arjuna for his apparent pussilaminity. He tells Arjuna that it is shameful for a Kṣatriya to act like that. He then introduces philosophy saying, why lament for the death of persons, since the soul is immortal. Then, to do your duty is yours, the fruit thereof is in the lap of God, therefore, act without attachment to fruit of action. Non-attachment induces the highest kind of objectivity in planning as well as acting. One then follows the law of causation without

introducing subjective considerations. Another advantage is that failure does not affect the doer, if he is non-attached. He has then the privilege of acting as an instrument of nature or cosmos or some higher power. Thus egoism which is the root of subjectivity has the least part in that action.

The teaching of the *Gītā* can be described as Egoclastic and Cosmophilic. The whole level of approach to life, to thinking, and acting is raised to the cosmic level and the person as an entity and instrument is free from all reactions.

In the course of all this teaching, Kṛṣṇa justifies his designation as the *Yogeśvara*, the Master of Yoga. In fact, the *Gītā* is a book of *Yoga*, both of Yogic discipline and exercises and of the attainment of the Yogic poise *(Yogārūḍha)*.

The science and art of *Yoga* has nothing to do with any particular religion or faith or sect or creed. It is a science which has everything to do with what we call our total consciousness, with all its levels and depths and potentialities as well as possibilities. It differs very much from psycho-analysis and its varieties and off-shoots which deal with the pathological conditions of the human mind with a view to cure it of some of its abnormalities. Dr. Frank's *logotherapy*, which perhaps is one of the latest forms of psycho-analysis, approaches the whole mind and not only one or two complexes with a view to make the mind as healthy as possible. Yoga approaches the human being as a psychic being with body attached, though the attachment is an indivisible part. Yoga aims not only at a healthy mind but at the whole of consciousness which can be capable of strengthening all the forces and powers and functions of man and raising them to a higher level with a view to make man a denizen of the world of joy, of ecstacy, and of inspired and sponteneous free action.

Man is a bundle of physical, vital, mental, moral, aesthetic, and spiritual powers and tendencies. It is only his consciousness which is capable of the knowledge of all these powers and of engineering them with a view to elevate man to higher levels. Yoga aims at heightening the healthy powers of the human consciousness. *Haṭha Yoga* emphasises the use of the physical and the vital powers. *Rāja Yoga* emphasises the power of concentration and meditation on the Divinity. *Bhakti Yoga* utilises the power of love to attain the highest, *Jñāna Yoga* would use the intellectual power to probe to truth of life and being. Though as regards the particular power and function, each *Yoga* differs in emphasis, the process of discipline and exercises is common to all. Purification of the power (means eschewing selfish motives), conservation, control concentra-

tion and complete surrender to the Supreme Power are the steps which are envisaged. For instance, if a person is a man of action, he has to purify his motives, that is, he has to free himself from all selfish motives, then he has to strengthen his will to proper action, and then conserve his energies, then he has to see that he controls these energies and concentrates them on the action which he has decided upon. But his action is to be one without attachment to the fruit thereof and one of surrendering the action, the fruit and his whole being to the God of his heart or to the Supreme Cosmic, power. These would be the elements of *Karmayoga*, the Yoga of action.

It is but natural that the *Gītā* which came into being for properly motivating and stimulating Arjuna to action, *Karmayoga* takes precedence over other *Yogas*. But no *Yoga* can be complete without devotion to the God or the cosmic power and without surrender to that power and acting as an instrument only, without an iota of egoism.

The basic aspirations of humanity ascend in two directions—conquest and mastery of matter outside one's own consciousness, and a similar conquest and mastery over the powers and functions of consciousness. It is the disparity and imbalance between the developments in these two directions, which are responsible for the temporarily tragic situation in which man finds himself. If man were less the master of matter then he is today or if man were more the master of his crude animal drives of love of power and so on, there would have been a harmonious balance struck between the two.

Man is evolving and there is no end to this evolution. Man has become conscious of the imbalance and he knows the cause of the tragic tendencies which are driving him. The next step in evolution, if it is to be a conscious one, has to be along the line of control of destructive and tragic tendencies and the development of the constructive forces, such as love instead of hatred, justice instead of injustice, altruism instead of selfish exploitation, direct perception of truth instead of confused perception and so on. In this matter, the *Gītā* has a word to offer. It says that the highest state is that in which a man is beyond the dualities. But till such a state is reached the attempt has to be for establishing what is called, the *Sāttvika Bhāva*, that poise which makes for the true, the good, and the beautiful. In the sixteenth chapter of the *Gītā* Kṛṣṇa expounds the characteristics of the man of merit and virtue, and as opposed to it, the man with dark drives of selfish desires and of aggressive tendencies.

There are many other illuminating passages in the *Gītā* but its central message is for those who would like to transform their lives from those of fear, of doubt, of confusion, and of hesitance to those of assurance, of confident hope and beyond the attachment to success or failure and other qualities. A sinless man of mighty action, without a sense of guilt complex, and one who has merged his petty self into the universal Self and who is always happy, poised and enjoys his being with a sense of complete satisfaction, that is the direction in which the *Gītā* takes us and frees us from the sense of all sin original or other, from the sense that all life is sorrow and that an escape is the only thing indicated, and from the sickening burden of what is called *Karma.* The freedom of the soul and of consciousness here and now, from all entanglements and notions and ideas and traditions by which we feel bound is indicated, because in essence, the soul, the spirit is inherently free full of joy, and is a blissful being, eternal and infinite.

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ : A WORLD SCRIPTURE

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The Problem of the Gītā. The problem undertaken by the *Gītā* to solve is one which concerns every day, every human being. Every ordinary man living a worldly life usually comes across a number of occasions when he is confronted with a question whether he should do a certain deed or not. Every Hindu believes that every action done by him has an effect or a result which he will have to experience sooner or later. This is the Law of *Karman.* Even a non-Hindu, doing an action, will do it expecting a result from it for himself. This idea of having to experience the good or bad results of actions done by one's self *troubles* every one in the world.

Under these circumstances, peace ordinary and Peace Supreme (*Śānti* and *Parā Śānti)* will come to a man only if he be able to do an act or all his acts without experiencing the result. How is this possible ? The *Gītā* shows the way. The *Gītā* shows not one such way, but many such ways. The *Gītā* asks a thinking, worldly man to think out who or what is the actual, real doer of a deed when done in the world. Different men will give different answers. (a) Some will say that Nature does an action and a man is an instrument of the Nature. The Gītā also says that this belief is one way to do an action without mentally experiencing its good or bad result, because by this belief a man is able to keep himself aloof or away or undisturbed by the result of his actions. (b)Another group of people would feel that it is God who is the real agent or actor and man is only an instrument of God. This belief will give him peace evenwhen the action done by him has a bad result. (c) A third section of the society may think that when and where an action is done, it is done by several 'doers' combined together, specially, the *man* who is (seen to be) the doer, the *place* where the action is done, the various

instruments with which the action is done, and, according to some, two more factors, *viz.* the various *movements* of the man who does the action, and the *luck* of the man who does it and of the men for whom it is done(*Gītā* XIV.12-17). This thought or belief will convince him that his soul or self is only "one" out of so "many" combined doers of one and the same deed. These are only three out of several theories or doctrines, stated in the *Gītā* as regards the actual doer or doers of a deed done. The *Gītā* would be ready (and the student of the *Gītā* also would be ready) to accept any other or more explanations as to by whom actions are actually done in the world. The great advantage of this teaching is that while doing, (instead of giving up), all his actions, a thinking man will have full peace of mind in the world; he will neither be overwhelmed with joy nor be overpowered with sorrow in the success or failure of his undertakings. The alternative explanations for the actual doer of an action, stated in the *Gītā* exhaust all the possible ones thought of or to be thought of in the world. If a new explanation is found any where else in the world, the *Gītā*, by its treatment of the subject, implies that it would welcome it as its own, because the *Gītā* is in search of it.

As said above, the *Gītā* is a Scripture of Equality of Mind in the Success or Failure of one's Actions. This Equality of Mind is called by the *Gītā* YOGA. The *Gītā* expressly mentions eighteen *Yogas* in its eighteen Chapters as per the names of the chapters given in the respective colophons.

According to the *Gītā*, a perfect man is one who has equal mind in the success or failure of his actions or undertakings. The *Gītā*, unlike other scriptures, gives four pictures of four different perfect men, implying that there could be eighteen (and even more) such pictures as per its eighteen chapters.

The Four Pictures are those of the *Sthitaprajña* (*Gītā* II), the *Dhyānin* (*Gītā* VI), the *Bhakta* (*Gītā* XII) and the *Triguṇātīta* (*Gītā* XIV). The followers of the *Vedas* were persons desirous of various 'fruits', *phalas*, promised by the Vedas to the performers of the Vedic Sacrifices like the *Jyotiṣṭoma*, the 'truit' of which was (and is) the attainment of 'heaven' after departure from the body; the *Putreṣṭiyāga* the fruit of which is the getting of a son for a sonless man, the *Śyena* Sacrifice the fruit of which is the killing of an enemy by the sacrificer of that sacrifice. Besides these there are many other sacrifices taught in the Vedas and the Brāhmaṇas. A follower of this desire-fulfilling (i.e., *kāmya*) religion of the Vedas always ran after the various *phalas* (fruits). Thus the mind ('*prajñā*',) was '*a-sthita*', unsteady, but the follower of the YOGA 'Disinterested Action' of

the *Gītā* gave up all selfish desires and did all his duties for giving guidance to (unwise) worldly people as to how they also could get peace of mind and a happy life by following the path of the *Yoga* *(lokasaṅgraha).*

The '*sthitaprajña*' is described as a '*yogin*' 'a follower of the Yoga' (*Gītā* II. 55-72). But as the *Gītā* itself says, a *yogin* can become a *sannyāsin* or can continue to remain a *yogin* (i.e., a *yogin* with perfection in the practice of *yoga*), a *yogin* of the stage of *phala-yoga* as distinguished from the stage of *sādhana yoga*, the stage when a seeker starts to practise the Yoga. The *Gītā prefers* the latter to the former way of life (*niṣṭhā*).

The description of a *dhyānin* (*Gītā* VI. 18-31), a *bhakta* (*Gītā* XII. 12-18), and a *triguṇātīta* (*Gītā* XIV. 22-27) show that each of them can be either a *sannyāsin* or a *yogin*. In each description there are some adjectives applicable to a *sannyāsin* and some, usually more, applicable to a *yogin*. Thus, the *bhakta* (devotee) is '*sarvārambha-parityāgin* and '*aniketa*', as well as a *yogin*; and the *Gītā* prefers that a *bhakta* remains a yogin because the entire chapter is called 'Bhaktiyoga', 'Disinterested Action through Devotion to the Supreme Principle'. The same is the case with the description of the *dhyānin* and the *triguṇātīta*.

I have stated above how the *Gītā* is a *World Scripture* as far as its main teaching, viz., mental peace of a man in the success or failure of actions done by him, is concerned. In also the minor points of its teaching, the *Gītā* considers *all possible aspects* of each minor point and then uses those apects to support its particular major point. I can give here only a few examples.

Thus, the question arises "When is a righteous war for the good of the world and not for an individual's selfish aim, to be waged ? Is there for the individual the sin of killing those who are to be killed or not ?" Here the author discusses *all the three possi-ble views, viz.*, (i) The soul is never killed because it is never born and never dead, (ii) The soul is never killed though it is always born and always dead, and (iii) The appearance (=birth) and the dis-appearance (=death) of the soul are unknowable, only the middle period of life, being knowable to human beings. The conc-lusion is then drawn that a righteous war for public good should be waged when necessary.

'Disinterested Action' (*Yoga*) raises the question about the nature of the final reality of the world. Here one alternative is that the reality is an Impersonal Principle (called by the *Gītā* 'the Akṣara'); another is that It is Superpersonal, both being aspects of

equal status of the same, one reality. Besides, these two conceptions of the reality, the *Gītā* has two other conceptions of the same. In one of these, the Superpersonal is (some-how) higher than the Impersonal Aspect (*Gītā* VIII. 20-21) and in the other the Impersonal has a higher status than the Superpersonal, the latter being a *parā śakti* (a high Power) of the former within the former (Vide "*anādi matparam* Brahma" in *Gītā* XIII. 12).

As regards the nature of man's Goal, the *Gītā* gives *all possible* views. One view is that the Goal is the attainment of Peace in this very life, and this Peace the *Gītā* calls "*Brāhmī-sthitī*" (*Gītā* II. 70-72). Another view is that it is the attainment of the abode of the revered Lord. A third view is that the liberated soul merges into the impersonal one. A fourth view says that the soul gets "*sādharmya*" with the Lord, i.e., the soul *becomes like* the Lord in all His attributes. In one more place in the *Gītā*, the Lord says that the soul 'becomes Myself'. Thus, it appears that the *Gītā* accepts *all* possible views as regards the nature of the final goal; perhaps such is the truth in the case of the nature of *Mukti*. To assure a seeker that there are various forms of the state of liberation from the transmigration and that a man may expect that one from them which he likes is the nature of an all world scripture only.

As regards the means to reach the final goal, the Gītā seems to exhaust all possible means so that a man can find out the one way suitable to his need. Generally, the means are Action (*Karman*), Knowledge (*Jñāna*) and Devotion (*Bhakti*). The *Gītā* rightly says that one of the three is the predominant means and the other two are subordinate to that one, in every man. Also there are various forms of *Karman*, *Jñāna* and *Bhaktī* in the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* says: "Janaka and others got *Saṁsiddhi* (Highest Perfection) through and while doing Actions (*Gītā* III 20; also see IV. 15)". It also says "Having known Me the seeker devotes himself to Me" (*jñātvā māṃ bhajate*, *Gītā* and also "The seeker knows Me after getting *bhakti*) or devotion to Me" (*bhaktyā mām abhijānāti*, *Gitā* XVIII, 55). There are also other means like the repeated utterrence of "*OM TAT SAT*", etc. Thus, all possible means and all possible combinations of those means are accepted by the *Gītā* as helpful to different persons in reaching their respective goals so that every man can make use of that means or that combination of means which suits him best.

The above are only a few of the examples in which the *Gītā* admits many or all the possible alternatives while it teaches the main problem with which it is concerned or a sub-problem or some

sub.problems supporting the main one, so that any man of any circumstance can select that alternative which suits him for his guidance.

There are also express statements in the *GĪTĀ* about its nature of being an all-world scripture, meant for all men at all times. The *Gītā* itself says or suggests that in future a right man can make proper and right additions to its different precepts" "*when he learns them from others*".

Thus, when stating the manifestations of the Lord, the *Gītā* names many of them and then keeps the door open to admit other deserving Manifestations in its list by saying : "Take as born of a particle of My Lustre whatever or whichever being (*sattva*) is possessed of special glory, whatever is illustrious and whatever is supreme in its kind (*Gītā* X, 41)" Again, while mentioning the paths leading to the Lord, Lord Kṛṣṇa Himself says : I resort to people in the same way in which they resort to Me (*Gītā* IV, 11). Here *all* Paths really leading to the Lord are accepted by the *Gītā* as Paths to Him. In this connection the *Gītā* says that 'all men' are moving to the Lord ("to Me") by "all" Paths they happen to adopt for the purpose (*Gītā* IV.11B).

In *Gītā* XII.8-11 four Paths to the Lord are stated, viz., *Bhakti-Yoga* (*Gītā* XII. 7-8), *Abhyāsa-Yoga* (*Gītā* VI) XII.9, *Bhagavadartha-Karma-Yoga* (*Gītā* XII.10) and *Sarvakarmaphalatyāga-yoga* (*Gītā* XII. 11B which will correspond to the *Karmayoga* of *Gītā* III). Each of these is an independent Path or *Yoga* or an aspect of the *Yoga* in its general sense of "Disinterested Action". Each by itself leads to *Mokṣa,* as said in "You will reside in Me only (*nivasiṣyasi mayyeva*), "You will get Me (*mām āptum icchā*), "You will get Perfection (*siddhim avāpsyasi*) and "There is Peace immediately from *sarvakarmaphalatyāga* (*tyāgāc chāntir anantaram*)". Though each succeeding Path is easier than each preceding one, each by itself leads to *Mokṣa.* This means that these Yogas are all *equal* options and *meant for different persons with different spiritual needs.* The same view is also stated in very clear words in Gītā XIII.23-25. There, in verses XIII. 19-23 a type of *Yoga* called "Prakṛti-Puruṣa-vibhāga-yoga" is stated. It is Disinterested Action through Separation of *Puruṣa,* the individual soul, as being an unattached enjoyer, from the *Prakṛti* as being the sole doer of all the actions appearing as being done by the body and the senses. This is *one Yoga.* Then, other three *Yogas* are mentioned : "By meditation *some* seekers see the Supreme *Ātman* in themselves by their own effort. *Others* do the same by means of the *Sāṅkhya-yoga* for which I offer a new interpretation namely 'Disinterested

Action' through consideration of what happens of the souls of the people killed and hence dead in a Righteous War (*sāṅkhya*= a war) for public good. And *others* through Karmayoga, a type of Disinterested Action. *Still others* (a fourth type of society) not knowing (the already mentioned three *Yogas*) thus, *learn from "others"* (than those who taught the *Yogas* of the *Gītā*) and then meditate on the Supreme *Ātman*. These last ones also (in addition to the followers of the *Yogas* taught in the *Gītā*), without doubt cross over Death, while they stick to what they learn from those other wise people (who are outsiders but holy and wise persons). The words "*kecit*" some, "*anye*" others, "*apare*" some others, "*anye tu*" 'but others', in these verses, make it absolutely clear that different types of persons are meant here as the followers of the different *Yogas*. As the names of the *Yogas* here are undoubtedly the names of the different chapters of the *Gītā*, there is no doubt that the different chapters of the *Gītā* are meant for the guidance of different sections of humanity.

In view of this all-inclusive of nature the teaching of the *Gītā*, it is not right to arrange the *Yogas* of the *Gītā*, its different views about the Ultimate Principle, its various views about the various combinations of the Means, its different views about the nature of the highest Goal of man, its various creations' theories, etc., into a regular order, one above the other, in order to make out a System or a scheme which suits the System or the scheme of an Ācārya or a scholar. A study of the Commentaries (Bhāṣyas) or Interpretations will also prove the same.

Thus every thinking, serious man, whatever be his spiritual, religious, and moral need, will find suitable guidance for himself to get worldly peace and Permanent Peace from the *Gītā*. The Gītā is an all world scripture.

VEDĀNTA AND WORLD THOUGHT

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Vedānta is the culmination of Hindu philosophical thought, the fountain head of which is the *Ṛgveda*, the most ancient of the holy books of the world. The religion of the *Ṛgveda* is usually described as the worship of devas who are nearly all personifications of the phenomena of nature and whose number according to the *Ṛgveda* itself is thirty-three. Though this is true, it is well to remember that a monotheism is traceable even in the older portions and becomes much more pronounced in the later portions of this precious monument of Aryan genius. The monotheistic trend flashes forth even in some of the hymns celebrating gods like Indra. Varuṇa and Savitṛ when the deity being addressed is treated as the Supreme God ruling over the entire universe. Thus in *Ṛgveda* I, 101, 3 Indra's ordinances are said to be obeyed by Heaven and Earth, Varuṇa and Sūrya, while in *Ṛgveda* II, 38, 9 it is said that Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Aryaman and Rudra cannot resist the ordinances of Savitṛ. In *Ṛgveda* X, 121 Hiraṇyagarbha is called the One Lord of every creature, the one King of the breathing and winking world, the One soul of gods, and the One supreme God among gods. Varuṇa is similarly praised in several hymns of the *Ṛgveda* as well as in the famous hymn No. 16 occurring in the fourth Kāṇḍa of the *Atharvaveda* as the omniscient, omnipotent and omnipresent God. Max Mueller called it henotheism but it is really monotheism, each diety being regarded as only a name of the Supreme Being. This is proved by a number of passages occurring in different maṇḍals of the *Ṛgveda* which clearly and indubitably assert the Unity of God. A few of these passages may be quoted here.

One of the most famous verses emphasising the unity of God is found in the first maṇḍala and runs as follows in its English translation :—

They speak of Indra, Mitra, Varuṇa, Agni, and there is the divine fine-winged Garutmat. The One Spirit the wise call by many names. They call Him Agni, Yama and Mātariśvan.

In the third maṇḍala we find the great hymn (No. 55) the burden of every verse of which is—

There is one Great Divinity in all the devas.

In the eighth maṇḍala (58, 2) again we find a beautiful verse in which the omnipresence of the Supreme Being is described in poetical language as follows :—

One is Agni kindled in many a spot,
One is Sūrya shining over all;
One is Uṣas illumining all this.
That which is One has become this All.

In the tenth maṇḍala there are a number of hymns in which the unity of God is stressed. In hymns 81 and 82 the One Omniscient, Omnipotent and Omnipresent God is praised in effective language. In third verse of hymn 82 the sage makes it perfectly clear that there is only One God who bears the names of different devas. The verse is as follows :—

Our Father, Our Creator, Our Disposer,
Who knows all positions, all things existing;
Who is the only One, bearing names of different devas;
Him other beings seek with questionings.

Lastly we come to the famous hymn of Creation (X, 129). In this hymn the idea not only of God being the sole ruler of universe but also of his being the sole reality before creation is expressed in the most effective language. Two verses from this hymn may be quoted. The first of these (verse 2 of the hymn) describes the condition before the creation of the Universe as follows :—

There was no death nor immortality then. There was not the beacon of night, nor of day. That One breathed windless by His own power. Other than That there was not anything beyond.

The last verse of this hymn is notable in the entire religious literature of the world for its boldness and frankness. The sage does not want to say dogmatically whether God is both the creator and ruler of universe or only its ruler. The idea is finely expressed as follows :—

Whence this creation has arisen, whether He created it or not, He alone knows who in the highest heaven is its surveyor. If he does not know no body else knows.

In the later Vedas also this monotheistic trait is to be found. One verse from the *Atharvaveda* (X,8,44) will suffice as an example.

Desireless, firm, immortal, self-existant,
Contented with the essence, lacking nothing, is He.
One fears not death who has known Him,
the Soul—serene, ageless, youthful.

It is thus clear that the conception of the unity of God existed in the period of the Vedas, but it could not impress the common man for want of a definite name for the One God. Efforts were therefore made to give a definite name to the Supreme Being. The first successful effort in this direction was made by the Upaniṣadic sages in India, just as it was made by Zoroaster in Iran. The Upaniṣadic sages declared the name of the Supreme Being to be Brahma. The early Upaniṣads laid great emphasis on the idea that Brahma and Brahma alone deserved to be worshipped and that all the devas were powerless against His wishes. A story found in the Kenopaniṣad relates how the great Devas Agni, Vāyu and Indra could not burn or blow off even a blade of grass without the will of Brahma and ultimately realise the Brahma is the Supreme Being through whose power alone they enjoy greatness.

In the *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad* Yājñavalkya describes Brahma as Akṣara or Imperishable and in reply to a question put by the learned lady Gārgi Vācaknavī he gives a most impressive account of the governance of the Universe by the Imperishable Brahma which is as follows :—

Verily O Gārgī at the command of that Imperishable the sun and moon stand apart. Verily, O Gārgī at the command of that Imperishable the earth and the sky stand apart. Verily, O, Gārgī, at the Command of that Imperishable the moments, the hours, the days, the nights, the fortnights, the months, the seasons and the years stand apart. Verily O Gārgī at the command of that Imperishable some rivers flow from the snowy mountains to the east, others to the west.

The problem which Vedānta had to tackle was the relation of God with the Universe. Even as early as the age of the *Ṛgveda* the three entities, *viz.* God, soul and matter were known, A famous verse found in the first book the Ṛgveda, describes them in poetic language as follows :—

Two birds associated together and mutual friends have taken their abode in the same tree. One of them eats the sweet fig, the other, that does not eat, looks over all. The tree here is symbolic of matter, the bird eating the sweet fig is the soul which has to enjoy

the fruit of action, while the Bird that does not eat is God who being perfect is not subject to the fruit of action.

In the language of Vedānta God is called Brahma, the soul is called Ātman or jīva while the word for matter is *jagat*. There are different schools of Vedānta in which the relation between these is expounded in different ways. The most famous of these is the *advaita* school whose greatest exponent was Śaṅkara. The view of this school is summed up in the following verse:

ब्रह्म सत्यं जगन्मिथ्या जीवो ब्रह्मैव नापरः ।

Brahman alone is true, the universe is an illusion, while the soul is identical with Brahman.

The response of the learned men and thinkers of the world to the teachings of Vedānta is a very fascinating subject for study. The Upaniṣads were translated in the 17th Century into Persian by Prince Mohammad Dara Shikoh, the son of Emperor Shah Jehan, and there can be no doubt that the mysticism of the Persian Sufism was in a great degree indebted to them. From the Persian they were translated into Latin at the beginning of the 19th Century by the French Scholar Anquetil du Perron under the title *Oupnekhat*.

It was the study of this translation which made the German Philosopher Schopenhauer declare that the Upaniṣads present the fruit of the highest human knowledge and wisdom and contain almost superhuman conceptions whose originators could hardly be regarded as mere men. He regarded Plato, Kant and the Upaniṣads as his three teachers. His deep reverence for the Upaniṣads is summed up in the following words of his: It is the most rewarding and elevating reading which is possible in the world. It has been the solace of my life and will be the solace of my death.

In the beginning of the same wonderful century—the 19th—the great Indian thinker and religious reformer Raja Ram Mohan Roy translated a number of Upaniṣads into English. This resulted in a further propagation of the ideas contained in the Upaniṣads.

Another great German scholar Deussen who was professor of Philosophy in the University of Kiel found in the Upaniṣads Parmenides, Plato and Kant in the nutshell and thought that they contained philosophical conceptions unequalled in India or perhaps anywhere else in the world.

Yet it should not be thought that Vedānta has been interpreted, understood or appreciated in one and the same way by all those who studied it outside India. For example, Col. G.A. Jacob who edited Sadānanda's Vedāntasāra in 1893 made the following curious remarks :

The Vedānta philosophy is supposed to be the finest outcome of Indian thought; yet it abolishes god as an unreality and substitutes an impersonal "It" with no consciousness, while its highest notion of bliss is the annihilation of personality.

This is typical of a misunderstanding and misinterpretation presented or persisting in some critics. The Vedānta philosophy neither abolishes God nor considers God as without consciousness. On the other hand, it called God Sat Cit Ānanda that is truth, consciousness and joy. It certainly does not regard the annihilation of personality as the highest bliss, but on the other hand regards the annihilation of ignorance as the highest bliss. As for the use of the pronoun 'It' in place of 'He' for God, it should be remembered that even the Bible probably does not mean to say that the Supreme Being belongs to the male sex when it uses the pronoun 'He' for God, since sex, age, colour, and dimension are qualities which show the limitations of a person or separate him or her from others, while God, being transcendent, cannot be circumscribed by any of these qualities.

Vedānta has been described by most of the western scholars either as pantheistic or as monistic, while the conception of God in semitic religions is universally acknowleged to be monotheistic. But can a clear cut line be drawn between these three conceptions? True, the Bible preaches monotheism when it describes God as the creator and sole ruler of the Universe. But when it says "The spirit of God filleth all the earth" does it not come very near to pantheism? On the other hand the description of creation in the first chapter of the Holy Bible proves that according to the Bible before creation God was the sole reality from whom the entire universe emanated. Moreover, since this universe is the first and the last of its kind according to the Bible, there will be none besides God after the dissolution of the Universe. The creation is thus little more than an illusion and except for the brief span when it remains in existence, the only reality is God. Is it not monism? And when modern science declares that all matter is convertible into energy, is it not heading towards monism? In fact Ludwig Stein once clearly said: "The philosophy of the present is Monism, that is the interpetation of all that happens in the universe as one unity". This is what Vedānta has been teaching for the last three thousand years.

THE VEDĀNTA AND THE MODERN AGE

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This age is an age, so to speak, of "the present" only just as even a few years ago, the whole stress was laid on the past and the past alone. But now-a-days, it has become almost "a fashion", nay, we may use also a stronger term, "a rage" to test everything in the touchstone of "the present", and accept or reject the same as "Gold" on that count only. From one standpoint, this is, undoubtedly, what should be. For, Truth, according to all, is eternal—Truth is Truth, always, in the past, at present, in future, equally. From another standpoint, however, Truth is wholly independent of space and time, conditions and circumstances, personalities and individualities. For, each age has subtle and non-manifest as well as gross and manifest specialities, novelties, peculiarities of its own—which may not be as universal, as unconditional, as absolute as Truth itself. However, the Vedānta, the best and the greatest symbol of Indian Culture and Civilisation, in all its phases and forms, and the best-loved of all the other Systems of Thought, has no difficulty in this respect. For, it is a very modern theory, though rooted in the hoary past. From whatever standpoint you look at it, you will joyfully find not only one—but numerous modern characteristics in it.

First and foremost—though rather difficult, we may just try to fix some of the main characteristics of the Modern age of ours, as follows :

The Modern Age is (1) stubbornly realistic, (2) unashamedly objective, (3) intensely practical, (4) aggressively dynamic, (5) vehemently individualistic, (6) boldly humanistic, (7) beningnly unitarian and Universalistic.

What do these "seven pillars of Wisdom" mean in the case in hand ? These mean a lot ; and pages may be written on the same. But, still, briefly speaking, these may said to be standing for the following :—

(1) The Modern Age is "stubbornly realistic", because here, in one word, the real, the actual, the present is considered to be far more important than any and everything beyond the same. That is why, the present worldly life and the present material world, with all their daily, common, trivial problems and transactions are taken to be the be-all and end-all of life. So, generally, not a single thought is spent, on an official basis, regarding anything beyond, anything above, anything unknown. As a matter of fact, this is generally considered to be not only foolish and useless, but, what is more, also unwise and harmful—as it will weaken and frighten us and thereby hamper us from tackling the present, pressing problems with due courage and determination.

(2) Secondly, the Modern Age is "unashamedly objective", because, it openly and boldly rejects all empty theories, useless speculations, pious wishes and idle day-dreams. Here, everything is tested by one and only one criterion, only viz, objective utility ; where theory, to be of any worth, must end necessarily, in a fruitful practice ; where the values of life are valuable only as yielding worldly benefits ; where ends are ends, only as leading to earthly fulfilment ; where even the three great ends of life from the three fundamental sides of human nature : thinking, feeling, willing, viz, Knowledge-Love-Virtue, Truth-Beauty-Goodness must fructify in objective gains ; where "bread" is coveted more than mere degrees or diplomas.

(3) Thirdly, the Modern Age is "intensely practical" because, it is essentially active in nature, where "Action" is the Paramount Monarch, leading all on and on and on to a ceaseless search for an "Utopia" not far above on the blemishless heavens, but here on this earth, amongst the dust and din of a depressed, distressed, defeated and degenerated life of ours, in the midst of our daily trivialities, oddities, selfishness, ugliness and what not. So, now-a-days, a worker is more honoured than a mere scholar, striving more than speculating, planning more than pondering.

(4) Fourthly, the Modern Age is "aggressively dynamic", because, its only deity is "Progress". As a matter of fact, the modern world never knows to take a breath, to have a break, to have rest, to stop ; but the more it advances, the more it runs further ; the more it gains, the more it craves for ; the more it is satisfied, the more it is dissatisfied. That is why, it is an age of endless search, endless ambition, endless enterprise.

(5) Fifthly, the Modern Age is "vehemently individualistic" because here the individual alone counts, on its own rights, neither family, nor society, nor state. So, here we pass from "each for all" to "all for each" ; from a stony neglect of the youngsters to a raving reverence for the same ; from an all-absorbing "one" to a all-conquering "many "

(6) Sixthly, the Modern Age is "boldly humanistic" in the sense that here a human being has usurped the long-occupied place of God ; and the worship or service of humanity is regarded far more desirable, far more honourable, far more acceptable than that of God. So, this is an age of Democracy, of mass uplift, of social service, of ungrudging help for the poor and the distressed and the depressed, the degraded and the down-trodden. So, it is an age o not each according to his merits, but each according to his needs.

(7) Seventhly, the Modern Age is "benignly unitarian and Universalistic". For, this is an age of "One World", with no barriers of bounderies and frontiers, nationalities and culturef castes and creeds, circumstances and conditions. "All mankind is one"—this is the modern slogan of Universities, a slogan of Love, Universal Service, Universal Peace. Hence, "United" Nations Organisations" is our only hope, only prop, only joy.

We have mentioned above, very briefly, what appears to us as some of the striking characteristics of the Modern Age. It is undoubtedly presumptuous to label an entire age as this or that, an age being a complex something that defies all definitions. Still our above attempt may be taken as a very rough sketch of what we are thinking, feeling and doing, on the whole, at present.

Now, what about the Vedānta, an ancient system of thought ? Can it have any salutory influence on modern life, at least to some extent ? Can it help and improve it, at least in some respects ? Can it bring any lasting good to it, at least from some standpoints ?

We think, it can and it does, definitely. not only to some extent, but to a very large extent. For, though it may sound very strange, still, we have to say boldly that the Vedānta is a very modern theory — possessing, as it does, all the above seven characteristics of modern life in a far greater and better way.

(1) Thus, first, the Vedānta, too, is "stubbornly realistic" in the sense that it, too, takes the present world, the present life to be the very first thing that requires a proper explanation and a correct dealing for our own lasting good. So, the present world, the present life, cannot be just ignored ; but have to taken and dealt

with very seriously. Why ? For, the present world is not a mere material, impure, imperfect kind of thing ; nor is the present life a mere worldly, ordinary, narrow kind of existence. But both are divine in essence. And what does such a "Divinity" imply ? It implies, simply this that the present world or the present life is something much more than what it merely appears to be ; something higher, purer, better. So, have faith in the present world ; have hopes for the present life—for, real salvation is attainable here and now, if only you can see through the outer crusts and reach the core behind. Really speaking, nothing else has glorified the present, the here and the now, as the Vedānta for, negatively, it has been asserted here that the world is *Māyā-Mithyā*, a mere illusion—delusion—if you, in your colossal ignorance, take it to be what it simply appears to you at first sight. But positively, when you know it to be what it really is—it is the greatest possible thing—a thing of eternal beauty and bliss. Is this not a most inspiring message for the modern man—who, too, loves and revers the present world and the present life so much.

(2) Secondly, the Vedānta, too, is "unashamedly objective" For, it, too, aims at objective, actual, worldly benefit, fulfilment, perfection. It does not indulge in mere speculation for the sake of speculation but all such speculations lead, finally, to one and only one result, viz, removal of ignorance and rise of real knowledge ; removal of sorrows and the rise of pure bliss ; removal of impurities and imperfections and the rise of purities and perfections. And "bread", too, it does bring. For, if there once be the dawning of the supreme Vedānta realisation of the inner divinity of all, equality of all, inseparability of all,—then, in that perfect society, "bread" will, undoubtedly, be within the reach of all ; and poverty and injustice and oppression will completely disappear and peace and happiness will reign supreme. This is the second glorious influence of the Vedānta on modern life.

(3) Thirdly, the Vedānta, too, is "intensely practical", as shown above. It inspires all to act and strive in such a manner as to establish the coveted "Kingdom of God" on earth, where all are divine, all are great, all are happy. It too, asserts that a mere correct kind of knowledge, without a corresponding correct kind of behaviour, is useless. So, God-realisation must, necessarily, end in God-worship in Man, the living God. In simpler words, "Know all as divine, love all as divine, serve all as divine"—this is the third great implication of the Vedānta and its influence on modern life.

(4) Fourthly, the Vedānta, too, is "aggressively dynamic". For, it, too, is a Philosophy of constant progress, ceaseless advance from darkness to light, from death to life, from miseries to bliss. Only, it points out repeatedly that such a progress is not the attainment of something new but only the new realisation of something already there, from all eternity, viz, our own, eternal divinity and also of all others. So, this is the fourth great implications of the Vedānta and its influence on modern life—to inspire all to get rid of the present state of utter ignorance and indolence, pains and sorrows and get something higher, better, deeper, fuller, purer.

(5) Fifthly, the Vedānta, too, is "vehemently individualistic". For, its great, grand and glorious assertion is that the "*Jīva* is *Śiva*"—the individual is God himself. Ultimately, of course, according to the Advaita Vedānta School all the *Jīvas,* all the individual souls are identical with *Brahman* and so with one another. But here, too, from the worldly point of view, which is, by no means, to be neglected, each is a separate individual by himself, working out his own salvation by his own, separate, independent efforts ; and then as a *Jīvanamukta*, a freed soul here and now, he has to take up separately the noble task of leading others to salvation. So, he is above all ; above family, society, state ; above ordinary conditions and circumstances, shining in his own light, and spreading the same all around. And this is the fifth great influence of the Vedānta on modern life and its supreme implications therein —stand boldly and uprightly before all, on your own rights, on your own strength, on your own glory ; "Be a Person and respect others as Persons". Thus, undoubtedly the Vedānta is a superb "Personality Cult", not in the ordinary undesirable sense of personal pride and audacity, but in the benign sense of a great person, towering above all his family, society, state, conditions and circumstances—yet standing in the closest, sweetest, finest personal relation with all, as their real guide, benefactor, well-wisher. So, this is the fifth great message of the Vedānta to Modern Age : Have faith in yourself and others. Stand on your own and help others to do so. Do not lose yourself in the crowd, yet do not look down upon the same. "*Ātmānam viddhi*" — know thyself, be thyself, for, the *Ātman* or the Soul is something unique, indestructible, eternal.

(6) Sixthly, the Vedānta, too, is "boldly humanistic", because, here, too, the whole emphasis is on Man—of course, not on "Man" as he appears to be, as subject to illusion—delusion, sins-sorrows, impurities—imperfections, and all the rest, but, on "Man", as he really is, viz, *Brahman* or Divine in Nature. As a matter of fact, it may be said, without any fear of contradictions that in no other system in the world, has "Man" been glorified, adored and revered

so much as in the Vedānta. For, who else, has ever dared to say boldly that "*Ayamātmā Brahma*" (Bṛh Up. 2.5.19), "*Aham Brahmāsmi*" (Bṛh. Up. 1.4.10), "*Tat Tvamasi*" (Chand Up. 6.8.7, etc.) : "This soul is *Brrhman*", "I am *Brahman*", "Thou art That". So, the sixth great message of the Vedānta to the Modern Age is "Know all as *Brahman* "Himself", love and revere all as *Brahman* Himself ; serve all as *Brahman* Himself". So, here, we have the best, truest, highest kind of the Doctrine of Humanism—which combines God and Man, Heaven and Earth, the Universal and the Individual into a great and grand and glorious whole. As a matter of fact, according to this view, the whole world is an arena where God or the Absolute is fully manifested, but most so in Man. What a lofty assertion ; and how very humanistic.

(7) Seventhly, the Vedānta, too, is "benignly universalistic". All are *Brahman*, all are one—this is its eternal, inner most enchanting slogan. So, there is no difference between man and man, religion and religion, culture and culture,—but all are one as divine in essence, as living Gods, as *Bhūma Mahān*, great, vast, full, perfect. So, this is the last and the best message of the Vedānta to the Modern Age : "Be one, be united, be universal, accepting all, revering all, worshipping all as absolutely equal.

The above brief account is enough to show that the Vedānta, instead of being an ancient and useless one, is the theory for the Modern Age, encouraging its new ventures, yet checking its excesses. Thus, as we all know to our cost, the Modern Age is an age of excesses, of adventures, of over-boldness and over-confidence. It has a tendency to be much too realistic, much too objective, much too active, much too practical, much too dynamic, much too universalistic.

(1) Thus, firstly, it has an inclination to concentrate on the "present" too much, totally ignoring "the above and the beyond" But the Vedānta acts here as an eye-opener and points out boldly the necessity of accepting something beyond the present material world and the present physical body ; or a divine world and a divine life above. Here, the "above" of course, does not nullify the "below", the bright future the black present—yet the Vedānta points out with exemplary neutrality and impartially that the past-present-future are intrinsically connected ; so all have to be given equal value. Over-emphasis of the present is as bad as over-emphasis of the past and over-emphasis of the future ; this is what the Vedānta teaches to the much too realistic Modern World of ours.

(2) Secondly, the much too objective tendency of the Modern World, too, is checked and curbed by the Vedānta, which boldly points out the great maxim—"Man cannot live by bread alone", the body is not all-in-all, not an end by itself, but only a means to the realisation of the real nature of the Soul itself.

(3) Thirdly, over-practicalism or much too stress on activity is equally bad and equally harmful. For, man is not only an active, but also and more so, a thinking being. Hence, for the complete fulfilment of his nature, for the fullest satisfaction of his being, he needs sometime for quiet thought and deep reflection—that only can bring him lasting peace and bliss. Hence, here the Vedānta sounds a note of warning to the Modern Man : Be practical, be active, be not lazy or depressed, or a more lotus-eator, a mere dreamer of empty dreams ; yet, be a real thinker, a real seer, a real visionary, having always before you the enchanting vision of a "Kingdom of God" which is your aim to establish on earth.

(4) Fourthly, the over-dynamism of the Modern Age, too, is something to be avoided carefully. "Progress" is all right ; but not over-ambition, over boldness, over-confidence. Life cannot, of course, stand still like a flowing river, it flows on ceaselessly. Yet madly whirling flood is not what is beneficial here. So, "*Caraiveti, Carraiveti*"—move on, ceaselessly move on—yet be restrained and disciplined, modest prideless. As a matter of fact, real progress lies, not in conquering Nature, but conquering the self first—"*Viśva-jaya*" or conquest of the World must be preceded by "*Ātma-jaya*" or conquest of the self, conquest of its lower, physical, animal side and manifestation of its higher, spiritual, divine one.

(5) Fifthly, another note of warning, sounded by the Vedānta here is against "over-individualism", another bane of Modern Life. On all counts, over-individualism, naturally, breeds selfishness, narrowness, pride and a tendency to look down upon others. So, according to the Vedānta, individualism and Universalism must always go hand in hand. For, an individual is an individual, only as an essential part and parcel of the universal. Hence, his glorious conception of "I-ness" must, of necessity, spring from his equally glorious conception of "All-ness".

(6) Sixthly, the most desirable humanism of Modern Age, too, has an inherent tendency to deteriorate into an undesirable type of hero-worship, so very common now-a-days. So, here, to Vedānta steps in with its sober vision and mature outlook, putting forward

a new exhilarating theory of Humanism, based on an equally exhilarating theory of Divinity. Let us find the inner goodness in all, let us have faith in all, let us see their real worth, glory, grandeur, greatness. Then, on that basis alone, let us serve and worship them, with all our minds and hearts. That is the only proper thing to do here, avoiding the two extremes of over-estimate and under-estimate.

(7) Seventhly and finally, the Vedānta raises its voice of protest also against over-universalism as found in some totalitarian countries where the individual is merged into the state, wholly guided and controlled by it. Such a total absorption of the individual into the universal is desirable and possible, according to the Advaita Vedānta, only from the higher spiritual standpoint, and not from the lower, empirical, worldly, ordinary, one. From this later standpoint, each is an individual on his own rights, manifesting his own divinity and helping others to do the same, in accordance with the maxim of Svāmi Vivekānanda : "First, let us be divine ; and then, help others to be divine. Be and Make—let this be our motto of life".

Thus, the implications of the Vedānta in Modern Life and its influence on Modern Age are two-fold : positive and negative, Positively, it contributes much to the development of the modern tendencies ; negatively it prevents much the same from over-doings and excesses. As a matter of fact, we do feel not because we love the Vedānta and are its eternal admirers and protagonists, but because, it is something unquestionable, something inevitable—that the Vedānta is an eternal world—theory that will never grow old or useless. For, what it asserts boldly and benignly is a Universal Truth ; To know yourself as just what you are ; and to know others as just what they are. If you can do this, then, you are a great Vedantist on earth and a real and eternal benefactor of Mankind.

We may end with what Swāmi Vivekānanda, said :

"The Vedānta does not in reality denounce the world. The ideal of renunciation nowhere attains such a height as in the teachings of the Vedānta. But at the same time, dry suicidal advice is not intended ; it really means deification of the world, giving up the world as we think of it, as we know it, as it appears to us— and to know what it really is. Deify it ; it is God alone. We read at the commencement of one of the oldest of the Upaniṣads ; "What ever exists in this Universe, is to be covered with the Lord".

"We have to cover everything with the Lord Himself, not by a false sort of optimism, not by blinding our eyes to the evil, but by really seeing God in everything. Thus, we have to give up the world ; and when the world is given up, what remains ? God......... In life and in death, in happiness and in misery, the Lord is equally present. The whole world is full of the Lord. Open your eyes and see Him. That is what the Vedānta teaches. Give up the world which you have conjectured, because your conjecture was based upon a very painful experience, upon very poor reasoning and upon your own weakness. Give it up ; the world we have been thinking of so long, the world to which we have been clinging so long, is a false world of our own creation. Give that up ; open your eyes and see that as such it never existed ; it was a dream, Māyā. What existed was the Lord Himself. It is He who is in the child, in the wife and in the husband ; it is He who is in the good and in the bad : He is in the sin and in the sinner ; He is in life and in death."

(II. 146—147)

ANEKĀNTAVĀDA AND THE MODERN WORLD

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Anekāntavāda is the heart of Jaina metaphysics. This theory of manifoldness or indeterminism, animating all the spheres of Jaina philosophical thinking recognises the objectivity of the Universe which latter is said to be independent of the mind or consciousness. The claim that *Anekāntavāda* is the most consistent form of realism lies in the fact that Jainism has allowed the principle of distinction to run its full course until it reaches its logical termination in the theory of manifoldness of reality or knowledge. The material or objective world is constituted of five ultimate reals, namely, matter (*pudgala*) space (*ākāśa*), time (*kāla*), the medium of motion (*dharma*) and the medium of rest (adharma) and the mental or subjective world consists of an infinity of independent minds or spirits, in their conditioned or free existence. Thus Anekāntavāda acknowledges a multiple or pluralistic universe. It postulates manifoldness or inherent complexity within each of the reals in the Universe. "Reality is thus a complex web of many-ness (*aneka*) and manifoldness (*anekānta*)."

The atoms, for example, are all of the same kind, but they can yet give rise to an infinite variety of things so that matter, as considered in Jainism, is of quite an indefinite nature. As Hiriyanna puts it, "The transmutation of elements is quite possible in this view and not a dream of the alchemist," since the *pudgala*, wiihin the limits imposed on it by certain inalienable features, can become anything through qualitative differentiations. The theory argues out the manifoldness of time and space as well.

The soul or *ātman* mirrors the entire universe within itself and the universe it comprehends or mirrors is again an infinitely com-

plex one. Hence its powers of experience must be manifold, commensurate with the complexity of the entire universe. As Vādideva puts it, "The difference in the cognised (*viṣaya*) signifies a corresponding difference in the cognition (*vikalpa*) concerned.

According to Jainism, the nature of being (*sat*) is neither absolutely unchangeable, nor the momentary changing qualities or existences, but involves them both. Being, as testified by experience, is that which involves a permanent losing some qualities and gaining new ones. The solution of Jainism is a reconciliation of the two extremes of Upaniṣadic Vedantism and Buddhism on grounds of common experience. Such a conception of being naturally leads one to the doctrine of *Anekāntavāda* or relative pluralism as against the extreme absolutism of the Upaniṣads or the pluralism of the Buddhists.

The Jainas hold that nothing can be affirmed absolutely. A gold jug for example is a *dravya* (substance) in the sense that it is a collocation of atoms but it is not a *dravya* in the sense of space or time. Thus it is both a dravya and not-dravya at the same time. As a composite of earth-atoms it is atomic but non-atomic as a composite of water-atoms and so on.

Thus all things possess an infinite number of qualities each of which can only be affirmed in a particular sense. All affirmations of a thing are thus true only in a particular sense, under certain conditions and limitations. The Jainas regarded all things as *anekānta* (*na-ekānta*) in other words, they held that nothing could be affirmed absolutely which led to the acceptance of different and often contradictory standpoints with regard to one and the same thing. To guarantee correctness therefore each affirmation should be preceded by the phrase *syāt* (may be). The affirmation is therefore, relative, made from some point of view under some reservations and is therefore not-absolute. This non-absolutism, though attacked by other philosophies has its own great value and advantage in everyday life and especially in the modern world.

According to this doctrine of *Syādvāda*, all affirmations are true in some sense, are false in some other sense, they are true as well as false in some sense, they are true as well as indefinite ; they are false as well as indefinite ; and they are true as well as false and indefinite in some sense.

This may look like a very unwelcome position wherein no final judgement would be possible regarding a problem or a thing.

But actually it is not always so. The doctrine when used discretly would make one respect another's view point thereby ruling out all dogmatism and intolerence.

Anekāntavāda, according to which reality is manifold or relativistic in its determinations, is inherent in the co-ordinate conception of identity-in-difference. The Jaina *nayavāda* or the method of standapoints, and *syādvāda*, or the method of dialectical predications, are the two main supports of the edifice of *Anekāntavāda*. Both *nayavāda* and *syādvāda* are methods which presuppose and explain the primordial notion that all reality is relativistic. Nayavāda is analytical investigation of a particular standpoint of a factual situation, while *syādvāda* is a synthetical method harmonising the different view points arrived at by *nayavāda*.

Each of the *nayas* comprehends things from only one particular stand point, knowledge derived from a *naya* is therefore partial and incomplete. To comprehend things in all their aspects, *syādvāda* or the doctrine of many possibilities, refers to the things as a whole. The different standpoints from which things can be spoken of as possessing this or that quality or as appearing in relation to this or that are technically called *naya*.

In consistency with the doctrine of various standpoints (*nayas*) and methods or modes of predications, and also because of the Jaina emphasis on non-injury to all beings (*ahimsā*), a Jaina aspirant or a monk is required to be very cautious in his speech. He is asked to refrain from making unwarranted categorical assertions and negations, and is advised not to explain without resort to conditional expressions. The Sūtrakṛtāṇga sūtra (1.14.22) says that a monk "should explain with the help of vibhajjavāya, conditional expressions." The Vibhajyavāda of the Buddhists was developed into *syādvāda* and *anekāntavāda* by Mahāvīra and his followers.

This position suggested that one should never be dogmatic or fanatic about one's own view point and beliefs and that there is always some truth in the other man's point of view. Tolerance and regard for doctrines and beliefs other than one's own, as derived from the doctrines of *Anekāntavāda* and *Syādvāda*, and impartial thinking should be cultivated by every individual and society and by every religious or political group.

No "ism" is perfect, nor should it be absolutely true in this pluralistic material world. In our age, when peace and happiness

of societies and nations are endangered by religious fanaticisms as in the case of Pakistan and India, or by political "isms" as in the case of the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., this doctrine should help us eliminate all dogmatism, intolerance and fanaticism, and eschew all political and economic selfishness, whether on the part of an individual or on the part of a nation. The doctrine should lead us to develop, in our thought, word and action, a true spirit of tolerance and the ideal of "live and let live".

SANSKRIT AND EPISTEMOLOGY

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Of the two principal branches of philosophy, Ontology and Epistemology, the former deals with problems of reality, while epistemology with those of knowledge. Epistemology ('*episteme*' meaning knowledge) is the study or theory of the nature and grounds of knowledge, especially with reference to its limits and validity. In the West, epistemology, i.e. emphasis on the process of knowing for understanding the nature of reality, began as late as the 17th century with the French philosopher Descartes.[1] It was only after the dawn of physical sciences in the 16th century that there appeared a spirit of scientific rationalism in the sphere of philosophy. It is however, a striking phenomenon that in India even before the Christian era, every philosophical system began by propounding its own theory of the means of knowledge, i.e. pramāṇas, viz. pratyakṣa, anumāna, etc.

Although Descartes laid the foundation of epistemology in western philosophy, the real epistemology in the form of a sort of integration of knowledge with external reality came about in the West only in the 18th century when Kant of Germany introduced what he called a Copernican revolution in the domain of philosophy.[2] Before Copernicus, it was supposed that the sun moved round the earth but Copernicus revolutionized astronomy by declaring that it was just the reverse. In the sphere of philosophy it was held by every thinker before Kant that our knowledge conform- to the external objects, but Kant revolutionized philosophy by declaring that it was just the reverse. Knowledge did not conform to objects, but objects conformed to knowledge. Kant held that there were two different sources of knowledge sensibility and understanding. Through the former, are received the sense-data to which form is given by our understanding.

1. René Descartes (1596-1650 A.D.).
2. Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason-Preface*.

The theory of Kant bears striking similarity to that of Buddhist thinker Diṅnāga of the fifth century A.D. Diṅnāga introduced the theory of redical distinction between two sources of knowledge, direct Sense-data (grahaṇa) and Intellect (adhyavasāya). Through the former is received external reality in the form of unique (particulars (svalakṣaṇas) which are devoid of all forms, attributes, etc. This sense-datum is followed by determinate perception (adhyavasāya) which is in the form of universal (sāmānya-lakṣaṇa). It would thus appear that both Diṅnāga and Kant held that the sense-datum is formless to which form is given by our intellect.[3]

Before Kant, there were mainly two lines of thought in the West : Thinkers were (i) either Realist holding the external world to be real and our ideas to be only a copy of it, or (ii) Idealist who believed in the reality of ideas alone and held external objects to be mere external projections of ideas. The two theories were diametrically opposed to each other. In this situation Kant revolutionized thought by bringing about a happy union between the external reality and mind by propounding a theory that our experience is a product of both, i.e. the external reality and the working of our intellect. Can there be a matter of greater pride for us, Indians, than to know that the discovery which was made by Kant in the West in the 18th century had already been anticipated by Diṅnāga as early as the fifth century A.D. ? We notice India's great achievements not only in the field of epistemology, but we see also its spirit of rational approach and application of scientific methods of treatment in other branches of learning such as Rhetorics, Linguistics, Atronomy. etc.

It is also important to note in this context the short-comings and pitfalls in Indian thought. Why, in spite of such an early development of rational and scientific spirit, is India miserably left behind the West in intellectual achievements in modern times ? The root cause of the trouble is perhaps to be traced in our tendency of leaning too much on the external authority in preference to following our reasoning. The tendency was ingrained in orthodox writers and it did affect even the Buddhists whose original ideal as preached by the Buddha was, 'ātma-dīpo bhava' (follow thyself, i.e. your own reasoning). This tendency of subordinating reason to blind authority is nowhere better exemplified than in the case of Pūrva-mīmāṁsā scholars, Kumārila and Prabhākara. In the whole range of Philosophy, India has not produced greater geniuses than these two thinkers. But their blind faith in scriptures surpasses our imagination. According to them, the Vedas are something

3. D.N. Shastri, Critique of Indian Realism (P. 1—3).

more than Divine words ; they are for them eternal like atoms, or matter and energy.[4] This phenomenon of rational scientific spirit going on side by side with blind faith calls for closer examination.

Now reverting to the main topic, the basic point is that epistemology in India developed in conflict between the Buddhist and orthodox systems of philosophy. The basic doctrine of Buddhism was 'Sarvaṁ śūnyam' (all is void), and therefore, the Buddhist insisted more and more on discarding external reality. The Mādhyamika school goes to the extent of discarding even the reality of ideas. Orthodox systems, on the other, insist on upholding the reality of the external world. It may, in this context, be noted that great Śaṃkara adopted the Mādhyamika theory of the void in the form of 'neti, neti' (not this, not this) doctrine of Upaniṣadas, and for that reason he was held to be a 'Buddhist in disguise' (pracchanna Buddha) by orthodox writers themselves.[5] But at the same time Śaṅkara took pains to refute the Yogācāra theory of the unreality of the universe. He declared that the doctrine of voidness was from the ultimate standpoint (paramārtha-dṛṣṭyā), but on the phenomenal level he advanced arguments to prove the external reality. It may also be noted here that the two early Buddhist schools, Vaibhāṣika and Sautrāntika, which were held as realists by the orthodox writers, especially of the later period, were not at all realists in the orthodox sense of '*naive realism*'.

Orthodox schools, depending upon and taking their clue from the Scriptures and sages (śruti and smṛti) could not make any original contribution to philosophy and especially to epistemology. Buddhist thinkers, on the other hand, following the light of their reason, as already noted, were naturally more inclined to developing original ideas.

The basic problem of epistemology is : When I see an object-say a jar, there is only one thing that is revealed to me : call it (i) 'a jar' or call it (ii) 'the cognition of a jar' ; there is no experience simultaneously of two things, the jar and its cognition. According to the Buddhist as well as the Prabhākara school of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, the knowledge being self-luminous, the fact of 'cognition', being revealed directly in the very first moment cannot be denied. The Buddhist being an idealist, there is no difficulty for him in holding revelation of the 'cognition of jar' in the first moment, and deny-

4. It may be noted that the Mīmāṅsaka is an atheist, and therefore he holds Vedas to be external, and not God-made.

5. 'Māyāvādam asac-chāstram pracchannaṁ bauddhameva ca' (a stanza from Padmapurāṇa quoted in the introduction to the Sāṃkhya-pravacana-bhāṣya).

ing the revelation of the external object 'jar'. But Prabhākara being a realist could not deny that the revelation of 'jar' did also occur in very first moment, along with the revelation of its cognition. Adding to it the direct and simultaneous revelation of 'knower' also, he advanced a queer theory of the 'tripartite' perception'. (tripuṭī pratyakṣa).[6] It is however, obvious that the simultaneous perception of three things is hardly tenable. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, maintaining its radical realism at all costs, held that in the first moment only the object jar, without its universal 'jarness' (ghaṭatva) is revealed in a sensation or indeterminate perception.[7] It is only in the second moment that the cognition of the jar in the form 'this is the jar' (ayam ghaṭaḥ) occurs in the determinate perception.

The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika also emphasizes the fact that the knowledge being formless, the form in the perception 'this is a jar' (ayaṁ ghaṭaḥ) is of the object itself.

Kumārila realized the difficulty of maintaining simultaneous perception of the object and its cognition and also of accepting the same in two subsequent moments. He therefore advanced a bold theory that the knowledge of cognition is not at all direct, but it is only inferred subsequently. 'Knowledge of the object', which itself is not manifested, creates in that object a new quality called 'manifestedness' or 'known-ness' (prakāntatā or jñātatā), and the first cognition comes in the form "jar is known by me" (mayā jñāto ghaṭaḥ). It is expressed in the passive voice to put emphasis on the object. It is on account of this manifestedness (jñātatā) that the knowledge of the object is inferred in the subsequent moments. Obviously the theory of Kumārila, in this context, is more remarkable and original as compared with that of Prabhākara or the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.

There are two other important epistemological topics which are mutually related. They are : the phenomenon of illusion and the question of validity of knowledge (Prāmāṇya-vāda).[6] Here again there is not only conflict between the Buddhist and the orthodox schools, but also between the orthodox schools themselves.

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6. D. N. Shastri *Critique* : p. 373.
7. "Arthasannikṛṣṭena indriyeṇa nirvikalpakaṃ nāma jātyādi-yojanāhīnam vastumātrāvagāhi kincididam iti jñānaṃ jāyate." Tarkabhāṣā Bhandarkar edition--p. 33.
8. Prāmāṇyavāda is different from Pramāṇavāda. In the latter, the theory and the nature of Pramāṇas is discussed while in the former, the validity of those pramāṇas is dealt with.

All the schools which hold the external world to be unreal, as the idealist Yogācāra, or the Mādhyamika or Śaṁkara have a common method of propounding their own theory of illusion of the ordinary life, and then extending the same theory, on the transcendental level, to explain the illusoriness of the phenomenal world. These theories are : ātmakhyāti of yogācara, 'Śūnyatā-khyāti' of Mādhyamika, and 'anirvacanīya-khyāti' of Śaṁkara. They explain the illusion of 'a snake in a rope' or that of 'silver in a 'conch-shell' by that theory, and the same theory is then extended to explain the illusion of the world. With regard to the removal of that illusion, they point out that as soon as 'rope' or 'conch-shell' is distinctly perceived, the illusion disappears. Similarly when, on the transcendental level, ultimate reality is realised, the phenomenal illusion of the external world disappears.

With regard to the theories of illusion and validity, realist orthodox schools differ from one another. The Nyāya-vaiśeṣika and Kumārila explain the illusion by a common theory called 'erroneous knowledge' (anyathākhyāti) i.e., knowledge of an object as something else. They point out that owing to some defect in the senses or to some other extraneous factor, an object assumes an illusory form. Now if it is accepted that an object can appear as something different from what it actually is, the basis for the unreality of the external world is established. These realist schools found it difficult to meet the Buddhist onslaught.

In this situation, Prabhākara advanced a remarkably hold and original theory to save the external reality. He declared that all knowledge as such is intrinsically valid. The very idea of any knowledge being erroneous gives a tool in the hands of the opponents of the external reality. When one sees 'silver in a conch-shell', it is not at all an illusion according to Prabhākara. Here there is only want of some knowledge which is needed but which does not arise. In the cognition of silver in a conch-shell as 'this is silver', 'this' part of the judgement refers to the object which is actually perceived, but owing to some defect, the universal of conch-shell (śuktikātva) is not perceived, but only the bare object shell, so far as it has common qualities with silver, is perceived. Then the 'silver' part of the judgement refers to the silver of rememberance. The nature of rememberance is to cognize what has been cognized before (gṛhīta-grahaṇa-svabhāva). In the present case, however, owing to some defect, one part of the nature of rememberance, viz., consciousness of the object as 'having been previously cognized' (gṛhītatāṁśa) is obliterated, and only the consciousness of the cognizing part (grahaṇāṁśa) remains. Therefore one does not see the distinction

between the nature of rememberance of silver and the nature of presentative cognition of shell, nor the distinction between the object of presentative cognition, viz., shell, and the object of rememberance, viz., silver. Thus the objects of presentative cognition and that of the rememberance (viz., shell and silver) appear similar. Here, because of non-comprehensions of distinction (bhedāgraha) between the nature of the two cognitions and their two different objects, the two judgement 'this is silver', although composed of two component parts, the presentative cognition and rememberance which are different, being similar to real unitary perceptive judgement (when silver is actually present) causes the notion of the identity of the two component parts (abheda-vyavahāra). In the process detailed above, not even in one case does knowledge present an object as something which it is not. Only owing to some defect, some part of knowledge which is needed does not arise. A seed, say, of wheat, when parched in fire, may not be able to produce a wheat plant, but can never produce a barley plant.[9]

There is obvious similarity between Prabhākara's analysis of error and Diṅnāga's analysis of perceptive judgement. According to the latter, a perceptive judgement like 'this is jar' is due to the non-distinction between the unique particular (svalakṣaṇa) denoted by the term 'this' and the universal (sāmānyalakṣaṇa) denoted by the word 'jar'. The Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika writer, Jayanta did not fail to notice, this obvious similarity. He addresses Prabhākara thus :— "We know that you have stolen this theory from the house of Dharmakīrti".[10] Stcherbatsky calls Prabhākara a bastered son of Buddhism. Prabhākara might have succumbed to the Buddhist influence in this case and many other cases, but it must be admitted that he made a significant contribution to the theory of realism by repudiating the phenomenon or error altogether. His analysis of error deserves to be noted by modern psychologists and philosophers. He occupies a unique place amongst the thinkers of India and the world.

Now with regard to the question of validity, views of all Indian schools differ. (1) According to the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika, knowledge by itself is neither valid nor invalid. Its validity or otherwise is

9. Vācaspatimiśra in his *Nyāya-Vārtikatātparyaṭīkā* (p. 74, Calcutta Sanskrit Series) has given a lucid account of this theory which is better that the acoount of the theory given by writers of the Prabhākara school themselves. For detailed account of this theory see, D. N. Shastri : Critique of Indian Realism pp 477 ff.

10. Śrutam idam yad atrabhavadbhir Dharma-Kīrti-gṛhad āhṛtam"-Nyāya-mañjarī (Chowkhamba) Part I p. 167 line 12.

known by a subsequent experience. (ii) Both the schools of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā, in order to establish the self-validity of scriptures, stuck to the theory that knowledge as such is always valid. Its invalidity in some cases comes only later owing to some kind of defect. The Buddhist view is dismetrically opposed to that of Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā. According to it, all knowledge, as such is invalid, its validity is established only later when it leads to an efficient action (*arthakriyākāritva.*) (iv) Jains in conformity with their theory of various alternatives of truth (syādvāda) hold that knowledge as such is both valid and invalid.

One of the most important points of Indian epistemology is the question of distinction between the indeterminate and determinate perception (*nirvikalpaka* and *savikalpaka Pratyakṣa*). Diṅnāga was the first thinker who introduced this distinction and the orthodox schools borrowed it from him.*

Vācaspatimiśra tries to show that the distinction in question was known to Gautama, the author of the Nyāya-sūtras. The sūtra of Gautama defines the perception as "knowledge produced by the sense-object contact which is not expressed by words *(avyapadeśya)* and uncontradicted, (*avyabhicārin*) and definite *vyavasāyātmaka)*".[11] Here Vācaspati-miśra makes a far-fetched suggestion that the term avyabhicārin (not contradicted) is part of the definition, and the terms 'avyapadeśya' and vyavasāyātmaka' denote the two kinds of perception, inderterminate and determinate. Strangely enough, the word 'avyabhicārin' which is regarded as definition occurs in between 'avyapadeśya and vyavasāyātmaka' which are supposed to give two kinds of perception.**

A large number of works on Indian epistemology have appeared, but in the present context, work of Russian scholar Stcherbatsky 'Buddhist Logic' deserves special mention, The present writer has also dealt with this subject in his work 'Critique of Indian

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* Diṅnāga is later than Gautama and Vātsyāyana, both of whom speak of their Nirvikalpaka form of Pratyakṣa as 'Avyapadeśya'. There is, therefore no basis for rhe above statement of the writer.

11. Indriyārtha-sannikarṣotpannaṁ jñānam avyapadeśyam avyabhicāri vyavasāyātmakaṁ pratyakṣam. Nyāyasūtra 1 (i) 4.

* Vācaspati interpreted the Pratyakṣa Sūtra according to his own teacher Trilocana whom he mentions here. There is of course nothing out of the way so for as *Avyapadeśya (Nirvikalpaka)* is concerned ; it is only the attempt to find with the terms of the Sūtra some basis for the variety called 'Savikalpaka' that is new on the part of Trilocana.

Realism'. Further Dr. T. R. V. Murthi's work, 'Central Philosophy of Buddhism' deals with epistemology of the Mādhyamika school in a lucid way.

The fact of the orthodox writers borrowing from the Buddhist sources has not been so much noted by the Buddhists as by the orthodox writers themselves. While no orthodox system accepts the Buddhist influence in its own case, it freely accuses other orthodox systems of borrowing from the Buddhist sources. It has already been noted how Śaṁkara was dubbed by orthodox writers themselves as 'pracchanna Buddha' (Buddhist in disguise). It has been noted just above how Prabhākara was accused by the Nyāya writer Jayanta of having stolen his 'theory of no-error' from Dharmakīrti. With regard to Kumārila's theory that a cognition is not self-luminous and is only known by inference, Jayanta ridicules Kumārila's followers thus : "Why fear them (Buddhist) so much, they can be silenced even by the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika theory that at the time of the cognition of an object, the cogniton itself is not recognized".[12] Numerous other instances of orthodox writers accusing each other of being under Buddhist influence can be quoted.

Brilliance and intellectual acumen of the orthodox writers is however, remarkable. Even in the presentation of Buddhist theories with clarity and precision, they have easily surpassed the Buddhist writers themselves. For instance, in expounding the nature of void, and repudiating all the attributes of the phenomenal world. Śaṁkara surpasses the Mādhyamika writers themselves. Similarly some of the theories of the Diṅnāga school have been presented by Vācaspatimiśra in a more convincing way than by the writers of the Diṅnāga school themselves. It has been already noted that being bound down by the habit of submitting to the external authority, (of śruti and smṛti), they could not make any original contribution as the Buddhists did, especially in the sphere of epistemology. In the field of practical life, however, the orthodox camp surpassed the Buddhists, and ultimately won the battle. History bears witness how intellectuals were usually surpassed by practical men. In ancient Europe, the Greeks who were the pioneers in all intellectual spheres, were defeated by Romans ; and in the modern history, Germans, easily superior in the sphere of sciences, were twice defeated, first at the hands of Englishmen and then in the second world war by Americans.

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12. Kaś cāyam iyān saṁtrāsaḥ, viṣayagrahaṇa-kāle vijñānagrahaṇa-mātrakeṇa bāhyārthanihaiva-vādinaḥ Śākyāḥ śākyāḥ śamayitum. Nyāya-Mañjarī (Chowkhamba) part I p. 16.

PURĀṆIC HERITAGE

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Importance of the Purāṇas.

The Purāṇas are considered even more important than the *Śruti* on account of their contribution to the all-round building of the Hindu society, not only in India but also in the other adjoining countries of Greater India ; e.g. the *Brahmāṇḍa Purāṇa* is a sacred work for the Śiva-worshippers on the island of Bali.[1]

The *Purāṇa* as a branch of learning or *vidyā* has been mentioned as originated from Brahmā, even before the Vedas issued forth from his mouths.[2] In fact, even the extant Purāṇas preserve in them certain ancient traditions that have their roots in the pre-Vedic times. Then again, the Vedas were not accessible to the general masses of the Hindu society on account of the unique sanctity attached to them. But such was not the case with the Purāṇas, which were meant not only for the learned scholars of the upper strata of the Hindu society, but also for the common man, for whom they were specially composed, and then redacted several times in order to make them upto-date according to the changing times and the changed social and political conditions of the society, so that they may serve as the permanant religious and cultural guides for the society in general.

On account of the divine origin ascribed to the Purāṇas as mentioned above,[3] the Purāṇas came to acquire the status of the *Veda*. Even in the Brāhmaṇas this status of the Purāṇas was recognised. Both the *Śat. Br.* and the *Gopatha-Br.* have used the epithet '*Veda*' for the *Purāṇa*[4]. The *Purāṇa* was regarded as the *fifth Veda*[5]. The study of the Purāṇas was held to be more important even than the study of the Vedas, Vedāṅgas and the Upaniṣads[6]. The Purāṇas became the Vedas of the laity, and they were enjoined

to be read and listened to by all the four Varṇas of the Hindu society. Thus the Śudras etc. who were forbidden to study the Vedas were compensated by allowing them access to *Purāṇa* and the *Itihāsa*,[7] respectively called also the *Purāṇa Veda* and the *Itihāsa-Veda*.[8]

The Purāṇas have been the main fountain-head of most of the Hindu traditions, social customs, religious rites. ethical codes philosophical thoughts and mythological legends symbolising the most abstruse truths of eternal value. They have their cosmological theories which, though akin to the *Sāṁkhya* theories of creation, are yet different from them to some extent, embedded as they are with Purāṇic mythological ideologies. The theories and descriptions of the four kinds of *Pralaya*, fourteen *Manvantaras*, geneaologies of gods, sages and kings and the various *ākhyānas upākhyānas itihāsas* relating to them, the Purāṇic *Bhuvana-kośa* comprising the account of the entire terrestrial expanse, description and glorification of the various sacred places-all this makes the *Purāṇa* a distinct branch of learning which may be called the *Purāṇa-vidyā*. The *Purāṇa* is therefore regarded as one of the fourteen or eighteen *Vidyās*[9]. A scholar versed in the Purāṇic lore was called a Paurāṇika whose status was in no way inferior to that of the other scholars (such as the Naiyāyikas, Mīmāṁsakas etc) versed in the other branches of learning.

The Veda has been regarded as the main source of *dharma*[10], and as the *Purāṇa* and *Itihāsa* (Which also belongs to the category of the *Purāṇa*) elaborate and clarify the statements of the Vedas,[11] they (the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas) also constitute, next to the Vedas, a most important source of the *dharma*. Purāṇas have, therefore, been called as the *Dharmaśāstras*,[12] and therefore, most of the religious rites and thoughts of the Hindus have their root in the Purāṇas. The medieval *Dharma-Nibandhas*, therefore, profusely draw upon the Purāṇas. The Purāṇas, along with the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, have also been included in the literature called the *Jaya*[13], the study of which is said to be conducive to success.[14]

Along with the Upaniṣads and the Darśanas the Purāṇas have been mentioned as the highest authority (*parāpramā*) for the knowledge of the *Brahman*[15]. The *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (II. 24-23) says that Vedic *Brahma vidyā* is not acquired from any other source. The Vedas including the Vedāntas (or the Upaniṣads) are the primary source of both the *dharma* and of the *Brahma-vidyā*. And as the Dharmaśāstras (comprising the Dharma-sūtras and the metrical Smṛtis, also the Purāṇas and the Itihāsas) and the Purāṇas both constitute what is called as the *Upa-brāhmaṇa* of the Vedas[16], the Dharmaśāstras and the Purāṇas have, therefore, been respectively

the main source of the *dharma* (religious theories and performances) and the *Brahma-viāyā* (knowledge of the Absolute Self). The Purāṇas, being also regarded as the Dharmaśāstras, form the source of both *dharma* and *jñāna* (*Brahma-vidyā*), and hence in the field of religion and philosophy the Purāṇas (including the Itihāsas) have acquired an important and high authority like the Dharma-śāstras.

For constructing the political history of ancient India the royal dynastic lists contained in the Purāṇas have been one of the main sources. Many of these lists have also been corroborated by epigraphic and numismatic evidences. Our knowledge of the ancient and medieval geography of India is largely based on the *Bhuvanakośa* of the Purāṇas, while the knowledge of the ethnography of Indian sub-continent is also contributed by the lists of the Jana-padas given in the *Bhuvanakośa* and the *Kūrma-vibhāga* chapters of the Purāṇas. Purāṇas have also contributed to the emergence, in the West, of the modern science of comparative mythology, for many of the Purāṇic legends have their parallels in Greek and Roman mythologies.

Classification of the Purāṇas from the view point of their Contributions.

From the one original *Purāṇā* of the divine origin,[18] or from the one original *Purāṇa-Saṁhitā* composed (or compiled) by Vyāṣa and handed over by him to his disciple Sūta Romaharṣaṇa,[19] the Purāṇa literature grew into the eighteen Mahāpurāṇas with an extent of four lacs of Ślokas and eighteen Upapurāṇas supplemented later on by the eighteen Upapurāṇas, local Purāṇas and a large number of *Māhātmyas* and *Vrata-Kathās*, all assigned to one or the other of the main Purāṇas. The evolution of this vast and extensive Purāṇic literature, which has made valuable contributions, took several centuries. According to Prof. Kane the compilation of the extant Purāṇas was completed by the 9th century A.D., and the Upapurāṇas began to be compiled from about the 7th or the 8th century A.D., and their number went on increasing till about the 13th century or even later[20]. But even after that, additions or interpolations continued to be made and thus the total extent of the Purāṇas has further swelled to more than four lacs of ślokas.[21]

From the religious or the sectarian (vaiṣṇavite) point of view the Purāṇas or rather the Mahāpurāṇas have been classified into the three classes : as (1) *Sāttvika*, (2) *Rājasa* and (3) *Tāmasa* or according to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (53.68-69) into the four classes, adding the *Saṁkīrṇa* class to the above three. According to the *Padma-Purāṇa*. (Ān. edn. VI. 263.81.85) (1) the *Sāttvika* Purāṇas are :— *Viṣṇu*, *Nāradīya*, *Bhāgavata*, *Garuḍa*, *Padma* and *Varāha*, (2) the

Rājasa Purāṇas are :—*Brahmāṇḍa, Brahma-vaivarta, Mārkaṇḍeya, Bhaviṣya, Vāmana* and *Brahma* (3) the *Tāmasa* Purāṇas are :—*Matsya, Kūrma, Liṅga, Śiva* (or *Vāyu*), *Skanda* and *Agni.*

According to the *Matsya-Purāṇa* (53.68-69) the (1) *Sāttvika* Purāṇas are devoted more to the glorification of Hari or Viṣṇu (and therefore they are more *Vaiṣṇava* in their character and have contributed a lot to Vaiṣṇavism), (2) the *Rājasa*-Purāṇas are devoted more to the glorification of Brahmā and Brahmā-worship, (3) the *Tāmasa* Purāṇas glorify Śiva and Agni (which has also been regarded as one of the eight *tanus* or forms of Rudra-Śiva) and therefore they are more Śaivite in their character, and (4) the *Saṁkīrṇa* Purāṇas (which have not been enumerated) glorify Goddess Sarasvatī and the Pitṛs (or the Manes) ; glorification of Sarasvatī perhaps contributed to the rise of the Sārasvata cult, some indication of which is to be traced in the *Skanda-Purāṇa.*[22]

The *Skanda Purāṇa* (VII. 1.2.89) merely mentions the number of the Purāṇas which sing the glory of the four deities. Thus according to it, Viṣṇu is praised in the four, Brahmā in two, Ravi or the Sun also in the two, and Śiva is praised in the remaining ten Purāṇas.

The above is the classification of the eighteen Purāṇas according to the Deities glorified in them, which may indicate their contribution to the evolution of the main religious sects, viz. Vaiṣṇavism, Śaivism, Brahmāism, Śakti (and Sarasvatī-) cult and the cult of the sun-worship. This sectarian classification of the Purāṇas is given in the *Padma Purāṇa* as noted above and also in the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* (VI. III. 28-10, 15) That this division is based on the sectarian spirit may be inferred from the fact that the *Padma-Purāṇa* which is predominantly a *Vaiṣṇava* and *Brāhma* Purāṇa, place the *Varāha-Purāṇa* in the *Sāttvika* division but the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* places this Purāṇa (*Varāha*) in the *Tāmasa* division ; similarly the *Matsya* and the *Kūrma* Purāṇas are both placed in the *Tāmasa* division by the *Padma-Purāṇa* while they are placed in the *Rājasa* division in the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa.* But this threefold (or four-fold, according to the *Matsya*) classification of the Purāṇas which is mentioned in the Purāṇas themselves gives no indication of the Purāṇic contributions in the other important spheres of human knowledge and institutions. The modern classification of the Purāṇas according to their main topics, however, as suggested by Haraprasāda Śāstrī and P.V. Kane is quite useful in this respect.[23].

According to this modern classification, which may throw a light on the various important contributions which the Purāṇas

have made, the Purāṇas have been grouped as follows :

1. Encyclopaedic-*Agni*, *Garuḍa*, and *Nāradīya*.

Purāṇas are said to be *sarva-śāstramaya* i.e. dealing with almost all the aspects and branches of human knowledge[24]. This all-comprehensive character of the Purāṇas is amply illustrated in these three Purāṇas. Besides dealing with the *Pañca-lakṣaṇas* (the five main characteristics of the Purāṇas), *Bhuvana-kośa*, *tīrthas*, *vratas*, *upavāsas* mythological legends, etc. these three Purāṇas also deal with such secular subjects as medicine, astrology, omens, grammar, figures of speech, *ratna-parīkṣā*, *vāstu-vidyā*, politics, etc. which are of immense human interest. They also contain *tāntrika* elements, *tāntrika* mode of worship and *tāntrika* formulas.

2. Sectarian—*Brahma-vaivarta*, *Liṅga*, *Śaiva*, *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Devī-Bhāgavata*

Though majority of the Purāṇas are of non-sectarian type, displaying a reconciling spirit and a trend of synthesis, yet there are some Purāṇas which are tainted with a narrow sectarian bias. For example, the *Brahma-vaivarta* is more inclined to Vaiṣṇavism or the cult of Rādhā-Kṛṣṇa worship, *Śaiva* and the *Linga* to Śaivism and the *Mārkaṇḍeya* and *Devī-Bhāgavata* to Śakti-cult. The *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* elaborately deals with the cult of sun-worship and its origin. This Purāṇa ((*Bhav. P.*) also contains a somewhat changed version of the *Satyanārāyaṇa-vrata kathā*, the *Skanda-Purāṇa* (Bengali MSS) version of which is so prevalent among the Hindus all over India.

3. Historical—*Brahmāṇḍa*, *Vāyu*, *Matsya*, *Viṣṇu* ; etc.

Preservation of the geneaological lists of the ancient royal dynasties of India was a task which was specially entrusted to the *Paurāṇika* Sūta.[24] The majority of the Mahāpurāṇas contain these geneaological lists and other valuable historical material. They begin these geneaological accounts from Vaivasvata Manu upto the Mahābhārata-war in *past* tense ; but the accounts after the Mahābhārata war upto the Āndhra dynasty in the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and upto the Gupta-dynasty in the *Viṣṇu-Purāṇa*, starting from the *sāmprata* king (the then ruling monarch), are given in the *future* tense in the prophetic tone. The *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* takes king Parīkṣit, the grandson of Arjuna, ruling at Hastināpura, as the *sāmprata-king*[25] ; the *Matsya-Purāṇa* and the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* have both taken King Adhiso (or, -sī) makṛṣṇa, the great-grandson of King Parīkṣit, as the *sāmprata* King.[26] Pargiter has utilised these lists in his two valuable works— *Ancient Indian Historical Traditions* and *Purāṇa-text of the Dynasties of the Kali Age.* The Political history of ancient India has mainly been constructed on the basis of these Purāṇic geneaologies, as mentioned above.

4. Mainly dealing with the tīrthas-such as *Padma, Skanda*, etc.

Tīrthas and tīrtha-yātrās (pilgrimages) occupy a very important place in almost all the religions of the world. But it is in the Indian religion, specially in Hinduism, that the *tīrthas* and *;īrtha-yātrās* have come to be regarded as having the most important place in the religious life of the different sects of Hinduism and other sister religions. Almost every Purāṇa and Upa-Purāṇa contains accounts of *tīrthas*, their māhātmyas, and the rules of and the merits accruing from going o› the pilgrimages. The sacred rivers, sacred places situated on the banks of these rivers, forests and mountain-caves sanctified by the inhabitance and penances of the great ancient sages-all were regarded as the places of pilgrimage. Their importance as religious places has not dwindled even in this modern material age. The contribution of the Purāṇas in infusing the religious zeal and reverence for visiting these places, and thus gaining a practical geographical knowledge of the country, besides acquiring meritorious fruits spiritual advancement and mental peace is no mean thing. These *tīrthas* are scattered all over India, from the Himalayas in the north to the Kanya Kumari in the South and from the western sea in Gujarat and Maharashtra in the west upto the hills of Assam in the east. The Purāṇas contain accounts of all these *tīrthas* of Bhārata-varṣa which, though politically divided was culturally united by the Purāṇas, The linguistic, regional and even ethnic differences could not break this remarkable cultural unity of the country ; and it was all due to the love of the *tīrthas* engendered by the Purāṇas in the hearts of the people of India. Thousands of pilgrims still visit these sacred places where they lose all their superficial differences, just as the rivers flowing from and over the different places of the country lose their separate identity by falling into the sea. These *tīrthas* are still the places of interest for the tourists on account of their archaeological and historical importance, but it is the Purāṇas which have impressed upon our mind their religious and spiritual importance, which from the Indian (or Purāṇic) point of view has a greater value for us for the upward march of life.

Contribution of the Purāṇas to the knowledge of the ancient geography of India

It has already been mentioned, the *Bhuvana Kośa* (or the *Bhuvanavinyāsa*) of the Purāṇas has been the main source of our knowledge of the ancient Indian geography. The accounts of the janapadas, mountains, rivers, etc. as given in the Purāṇas can be corroborated by their identification even now ; thus these accounts are not speculative and fictitious. Bhārata-varṣa was considered to be a part of the Jambudvīpa i.e., one of the nine *varṣas* of the Jambudvīpa, situated on its southern most side according to the

sapta-dvīpa theory of the Purāṇas, which is contained in the *Agni, Bhāgavata, Brahma, Garuḍa, Kūrma, Liṅga, Mārkaṇḍeya, Matsya. Vāyu* and *Viṣṇu* But in the *catur-dvīpa* theory which is met with only in the *Vāyu-Purāṇa* and also in the old Buddhist text Bhārata-varṣa has been identified with the Jambu-dvīpa. The term Bhārata-varṣa in the Purāṇas connotes what is known as the Greater India now. Bhārata-varṣa consisted of the nine Dvīpas viz., Indradyumna. Kaśerumān, Tāmra-parṇa (or, -varṇa), Gabhastimān, Nāga-dvīpa, Saumya, Gāndharva, Vāruṇa and Kumāra-dvīpa or the India proper. The expanse of Bhāratavarṣa (or Greater India) is said to be nine thousand Yojanas while that of Kumāra-dvīpa (or India Proper) is said to be one thousand yojanas from north to south. It (India proper) contains the seven Kula-parvatas or mountain ranges, viz., the Mahendra, the Malaya, the Sahya, the Śuktimān (or Śakti-mān), the Ṛkṣa-parvata, the Vindhya and the Pāriyātra. Rivers are mentioned as flowing from the Himalayas and from these seven Kula-parvatas and Janapadas are mentioned as the regions through which these rivers flow. Besides the seven Kula-parvatas a number of other mountains or hills are also mentioned. The Purāṇic lists of the Janapadas is very important from the ethnic point of view also. The lists of the Janapadas, according to their positions and directions are divided into seven divisions, viz., the Central division (Madhya-deśa), Northern (Uttarāpatha), Eastern (Prācya), Southern (Dakṣiṇāpatha), Western (Aparānta), Vindhya and the Himālayas. In the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa* (II.3. 15-18) *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (Cr. Edn. I. 45. 39-42), and *Agni Purāṇa* the lists are shorter consisting of the few names but indicating their directions ; but in the *Mārkaṇḍeya* (57. 32-58), *Brahmāṇḍa* (I. 16. 40-69), *Matsya* (114. 34. 57), *Vāyu* (45. 109-137), *Brahma* (27. 41-70), and *Vāmana Purāṇas* (cr. edn. 13. 35-58) there are longer lists, and they include all the geographical data of the shorter lists also.

The accounts of other eight *Varṣas* of the Jambu-dvīpa besides the Bhārata-varṣa and of the other six (Mahā) Dvīpas besides the Jambu-dvīpa which is regarded as the central (Mahā-) Dvīpa in the *sapta dvīpa* theory are generally speculative and so they need not detain us here.

Contribution of the Purāṇas to the reconcilation of the sectarian ideologies

The Purāṇas were the best media for the expansion and propagation of sectarian views of the various sects of Hinduism. We therefore find some narrow sectarian traces in some of the Purāṇas and Upapurāṇas. But even such so-called sectarian Purāṇas do express broader and healthy reconciling trends and thus rise above

the narrow sectarian spirit of the age. In fact, the Purāṇas contain not much that can be labelled as purely sectarian. If we take a broader and complete view of the Purāṇas, we can easily discern in them the highest conception of the Trinity or the *Trimūrti* (Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra) and the other Deities of Hinduism free from any sectarian bias. In fact, the Supreme Brahman, the ultimate and Highest conscious Reality is sometimes termed as Brahmā sometimes as Viṣṇu and sometimes as Śiva or Rudra, to whom the functions of creation, preservation and destruction of the universe are respectively assigned. The three Gods of Purāṇic Trinity are sometimes treated separately as *saguṇa* forms of the Absolute *Brahman*, and sometimes each of them is identified with the Absolute *Brahman* in different Purāṇas, and sometimes, according to the context, they are identified with each other also. For example, the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (cr. edn. II. 11. III-116) expressly advocates the unity and identity of Viṣṇu and Śiva. But sometimes according to the context and not with any sectarian bias, one Deity is described as superior to the other two. In reality, according to the oft-expressed views of the Purāṇas, there is no real difference between the Supreme *Brahman* and its *saguṇa* manifestations into the three or more Deities, nor between one Deity and the other. Kālidāsa, the great poet of India and the true exponent of the Indian thought and culture in the field of the classical poetry, expresses this truth of the identity and oneness of the three Deities in his *Kumāra-sambhava* (7·44) :—

एकैव मूर्तिर्विभिदे त्रिधा सा सामान्यमेषां प्रथमावरत्वम् ।
विष्णोर्हरस्तस्य हरिः कदाचित् वेधास्तयोस्तावपि धातुराद्यौ ॥

Thus the Purāṇas have played an important part in reconciling the mutually opposing sectratian spririts of their respective ages, and thus upholding and enhancing the cause of the cultural and religious unity of Bhārata-varṣa.

Contribution of Purāṇas to the exposition of the philosophical thoughts

Philosophical speculations and ideas constitute the main topics of the Upaniṣads and the Darśanas, but it is in the Purāṇas that they are presented and elaborated in the form of the *ākhyāna*s which can be understood even by the common man. As an example, the *ākhyāna* of Jaḍa-Bharata and the dialogue between him and the king of the Sauvīra country (*Viṣṇu-Purāṇa* II. 13-14) brings out the real nature of the Self as distinguished from the body. Similarly the *ākhyāna* of Ṛbhu and Nidāgha (*Viṣ. P.* II. 15) gives an interesting expositiou of the *advaita* theory of *abheda* (non-difference) between Vāsudeva and the physical world. The *ākhyāna* of Keṣi-dhvaja and Khāṇḍikya (*Viṣ.* -P VI- 6-7) presents the *Brahma-yoga* (means of realising *Brahman*) in a very lucid form. Similarly, the *Iśvaragītā* of the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* (II. 1-11) contains an account of the *Kāpālika*

yoga, which is a sort of combination of the *Pātañjala-Yoga* and the *Haṭha-Yoga* tinged with the *advaita* ideology of the Śaiva-philosophy. Such philosophical *ākhyānas* are contained in many of the Purāṇas for the benefit of the common man for whom the Purāṇas were specially meant.

Deification and Sublimation in the Purāṇas.

Deification of natural objects and living beings and sublimation of our instincts and passions are two of the main characteristics of the Hindu religious philosophy, as may be clear from the various statements and accounts contained in the Vedas and the Purāṇa. The *prāṇa-vidyā* and the *pratīka-upāsanā* (worship through symbols) mentioned in the Upaniṣads[28], and conceiving all masculine objects and beings as Viṣṇu and Śiva and all feminine objects and beings as Lakṣmī and Gaurī in the Purāṇas[29] are some of the examples of deification. Similarly, the *pañcāgnividyā* of the *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad* (5.3.9) and the *rāsa-utsuva* of Śrī-Kṛṣṇa and Gopīs in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (X.29-33) are some examples of sublimation of the sexual act and amorous sports respectively. By making a study of such topics of the Vedas and the Purāṇas with faith and reverence our mind can get rid of its frailties and lust and become fit for acquiring the knowledge of Self and spiritual advancement, as the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* so clearly and emphatically puts it in the following words :—

विक्रीडितं व्रजवधूभिरिदं च विष्णोः
श्रद्धान्वितोऽनुशृणुयादथ वर्णयेद् यः ।
भक्तिं परां भगवति प्रतिलभ्य कामं
हृद्रोगमाश्वपहिनोत्यचिरेण धीरः ।।

(X 33, 40)

"The wise who listen to and narrate these amorous sports of Viṣṇu (Kṛṣṇa) with Gopis with faith, become great devotees of God and soon get rid of lust, which is a kind of disease of the heart."

Purāṇas' contribution to the solution of some of the problems of the modern world

Mal-distribution of wealth and population-explosion are the two important problems of our times. Communism and socialism try to solve the problem of mal-distribution of wealth by compulsion and nationalisation. But the Purāṇas try to infuse a social spirit into the society as a whole as self-discipline. They enjoin on the rich giving charities and monetary help to the needy and the learned who are worthy of such charities, and who in their turn may also serve the society, and on the other hand they strictly require those

who are not worthy of such charities to refrain from receiving these charities ; and thus the Purāṇas try to keep an economic balance in the society by propounding such healthy principles in their chapters on the *dāna dharma*. The *Kūrma-Purāṇa* says that one should give away in charity, what is left after the maintenance of his family, to a learned man who is of good family, well-disciplined, self-restrained of good character and poor.[30] The *Bhāgavata* goes even further, It says that a man has a right to acquire as much wealth only as may suffice for his and his family's maintenance : if he tries to possess more, he is a thief and deserves punishment.[31] Thus the Purāṇas try to educate the society and to create a social sense and responsibility among its members to care for others also. Such ideas of the Purāṇas are even more revolutionary and socialistic than the theories of the present-day socialism.

As regards the population-explosion in the modern age, the prescription suggested by the Purāṇas may also be regarded as quite useful and befitting our culture. The Purāṇas recommend self-restraint in matters and allow sexual intercourse for begetting progeny only and not for self-indulgence and satiation of our carnal desires, and hence the sublimation of the sexual instinct in the Purāṇas. In this regard and also for the sake of establishing social and economic equilibrium we should remember the following śloka of the *Kūrma-Purāṇa* :—

आत्मार्थं भोजनं यस्य रत्यर्थं च मैथुनम् ।
वृत्त्यर्थं यस्य चाधीतं निष्फलस्तस्य जीवितम् ।।

—(I.19.18)

"One who cooks only for himself and fills his own belly, who indulges in sexual act only for the sexual pleasure, who acquires education only for earning money lives in vain."

Kālidāsa also supports this veiw of the Purāṇas when he praises, the kings of the Īkṣvāku dynasty as :—

त्यागाय सम्भृतार्थानां सत्याय मितभाषिणाम् ।
यशसे विजिगीषूणां प्रजायै गृहमेधिनाम् ।।

(*Raghuvaṁśa* 1·7)

Thus in almost all matters of human interest the Purāṇas should be regarded as our most precious heritage.

Notes

1. Mentioned by R. Friendrich, *JRAS* 1876, p. 171.

The Javanese *Bramāṇḍa* is an abridged prose translation of the original Sanskrit work or a translation of an abridged form of the original sanskrit work ; *Cf.* J. Gonda. 'The Old Javanese Brahmāṇḍa-Purāṇa in *PURĀṆA*, Vol. II. (July, 1960) 252-267.

2. Cf. पुराणं सर्वशास्त्राणां प्रथमं ब्रह्मणा स्मृतम् ।
नित्यं शब्दमयं पुण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ।।
अनन्तरं च वक्त्रेभ्यो वेदास्तस्य विनिःसृता ।
—*Matsya*—P. 4. 3 –4 ;
Cf, also *Vāyu* 1. 54, *Bd*. I. 1. 40, *Padma* Sṛ-Kh. 1.45, *Mārk*. 45.20, *Brahma* 161. 27 ; etc

3. See fn. 2 above. Also *Cf. Bṛ-up* II. 4.10 :
"अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यद् ऋग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरसः इतिहासः पुराणं······"

4, Cf. "अथ नवमेऽहन्····· तानुपदिशति पुराणं वेदः सोऽयमिति किंचित्पुराणमाचक्षीत ।"(*Śat. Br.* XIII 4.3.13),

and"······उदीच्या इतिहासवेदं ध्रुवायाश्चो-र्ध्वायाश्च पुराणवेदम् ।" (*Gopatha-Br*. 1.10). Also cf. *Vayu-P.* 1.17 ;— पुराणवेदो ह्यखिल स्तस्मिन् सम्यक् प्रतिष्ठितः ।

5. *Cf.* "इतिहासपुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेद······"
(*Chā-up*. VII. 1.2)

6. *Cf Vāyu-P*. 1.180 :
यो विद्याच्चतुरोवेदान् साङ्गोपनिषदो द्विजः ।
न चेत् पुराणं संविद्यान्नैव स स्याद् विचक्षणः ।।

7. *Cf. Bhag*-P. I. S.25 :
स्त्री शूद्रद्विजबन्धूनां त्रयी न श्रुतिगोचरा ।
कर्मश्रेयसि मूढानां श्रेय एवं भवेदिह ।
इति भारतमाख्यानं कृपया मुनिना कृतम् ।।

Here Purāṇas are also implied by the *Bhārata-Ākhyāna*, for the compilation or the Purāṇas preceded that of the *Bhārata-Ākhyāna* of the *Mahābhārata*,

8. *Cf*. fn. 4 above

9. *Cf Viṣṇu*-P. III. 6.28-29 :
अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः ।
पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश ।।

आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गान्धर्वश्चैव ते त्रयः ।
अर्थशास्त्रं चतुर्थं तु विद्या ह्यष्टादशैव ताः ॥

10. *Cf. Manu-Smṛ.* 2.6a : वेदोऽखिलो धर्ममूलम् :

Also *Kūrma-P.* (cr. edn.) I. 11.267b : वेदाद् धर्मो हि निर्बभौ ।

11. *Cf.* इतिहासपुराणाभ्यां वेदं समुपबृंहयेत्
(*Vāyu-P*, 1.201, Mor. edn.)
(V.l. वेदार्थानुपबृंहयेत्, *Kūrma*-P.2.19.24)

Also Cf. *Mbh.* (cr. edn.) I. 1.204.

12. *Cf. Bhaviṣya*-P. I. 1. 65 f :—

एतानि कुरुशार्दूल धर्मशास्त्राणि पण्डितैः ।
साधारणानि प्रोक्तानि वर्णानां श्रेयसे सदा ।
चतुर्णामिह राजेन्द्र श्रोतुमर्हाणि सुव्रत ।

[एतानि, i.e. पुराणानि, enumerated in 61-64 Ślokas]

The *Mahābhārata* also calls itself as the *Dharma-śāstra* (*Mbh.* I. 2.383 ; Cr. edn. 186.*)

13. *Cf.* अष्टादश पुराणानि रामस्य चरितं तथा ।
कार्ष्णं वेदं पञ्चमं च यन्महाभारतं स्मृतम् ॥
तथैव विष्णुधर्माश्च शिवधर्माश्च शाश्वताः ।
जयेति नाम तेषां च प्रवदन्ति मनीषिणः ॥

—(Quoted by Nīlakaṇṭha from the *Bhaviṣya-Purāṇa* in the beginning of this comm. on the Mbh., Ādi-Parvan)

Cf. also *Bhaviṣya*-P I.4. 86-88.

14. *Cf.* जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा ।
महीं विजयते सर्वां शत्रूंश्चापि पराजयेत् ॥
—(*Mbh*, Cr. edn., I. 56.19)

In his comm. on the Harivaṁśa Nīlakaṇṭha explains the *Jaya* as जयत्यविद्यामनेनेति जयसंज्ञमविद्याध्वान्तनाशकं ग्रन्थम् ।

15. *Cf. Kūrma*-P. 2.24.22.

16.17. *Cf. Kūrma*-P. (cr. edu.) II. 24. 21-22 :—

पुराणं धर्मशास्त्रं च वेदानामुपबृंहणम् ।
एकस्माद् ब्रह्मविज्ञानं धर्मज्ञानं तथैकतः ॥
धर्मं जिज्ञासमानानां तत्प्रमाणतरं स्मृतम् ।
धर्मशास्त्रं, पुराणं तद् ब्रह्मज्ञाने पराप्रमा ॥

18. See fn. 3 and 4 above.

19. Cf. *Viṣ*-P. III. 15-16.

20. P.V. Kane : *History of Dharmaśāstra, Vol. V,* Part II, p. 855

21. *Cf. Bhaviṣya*-P. I. 1. 104-105 :—

पुनर्वृद्धिं गतानीह आख्यानैर्विविधैर्नृप ।
यथा स्कान्दं तथा चेदं भविष्यं कुरुनन्दन ॥

स्कान्दं शतसाहस्रं तु लोकानां ज्ञातमेव हि ।
भविष्यमेतदृषिणा लक्षार्धं संख्यया कृतम् ।

This statement of the *Bhav*,-P. illustrates how the Purāṇas have grown in their extent.

22. *Cf.* the story of Mṛgamukhī as given in the *Sk*.-P., Prabhāsa-Kh., Vastrāpathamāhātmya Adhs. 6-7.

23. Vide Haraprasada Sastri's article in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Patna, XIV, pp. 330-7 and P.V. Kane, *op. cit.*, p. 842.

24. *Cf.* ततः [आविर्भूतं] पुराणमखिलं सर्वशास्त्रमयं ध्रुवम् ।
नित्यंशब्दमयं पूण्यं शतकोटिप्रविस्तरम् ।।
—(*Skp.* Prabhāsa-Kh., Prabhāsa Kṣetramāhātmya. 2.4)

25. *Cf. Vāyu*-P. 1. 31 f.

26. *Viṣṇu*-P. IV 20. 52-53

..............परीक्षिज्जज्ञे ।। योऽयं साम्प्रतमेतद् भूमण्डलमखण्डायतिधर्मेण पालयतीति ।।

27. *Matsya*-P. 50-66

अथाश्वमेधेन ततः शतानीकस्य वीर्यवान् ।
जज्ञेऽधि सोमकृष्णाख्यः साम्प्रतं यो महायशाः ।।
Vayu-P. 1. 12 ff.

28. Cf. also C.A. Lewis : 'The Geographical Texts of the Purāṇas' in *Purāṇa*, Vol. IV (1962) pp. 112-145, 245-276 and V.S. Agrawala : Bhuvanakośa Janapadas of Bhārata-varṣa' in *Purāṇa*, V. 1 (Jan., 1963) pp. 160 ff.

29. For *prāṇa-vidyā* see *Praśna-upaniṣad* (2-3) and for the *pratīka-upāsanā* see *Taittirīya-upaniṣad*, Brahmānanda-vallī, Anuvākas 2-3, where the worship of the *anna* (food) and the *prāṇa* as the *Brahman* is recommended.

30. Cf. Viṣṇu-P.I. 8.35:

देवतिर्यङ्मनुष्यादौ पुन्नामा भगवान् हरिः ।
स्त्रीनाम्नी श्रीश्च विज्ञेया नानयोर्विद्यते परम् ।।

and *Liṅga*-P. II. 11. 18 ff.

शंङ्करः पुरुषाः सर्वे स्त्रियः सर्वा महेश्वरी ।
पुंलिङ्गशब्दवाच्या ये ते च रुद्राः प्रकीर्त्तिताः ।।
स्त्रीलिङ्गशब्दवाच्या याः सर्वा गौर्या विभूतयः ।।

31. *Kūrm-a* (Pcr. edn.) II. 26.10-11 :—

कुटुम्बभक्तवसनाद् देयं यदतिरिच्यते ।
अन्यथा दीयते यद्धि न तद् दानं फलप्रदम् ।।
श्रोत्रियाय कुलीनाय विनीताय तपस्विने ।
वृत्तस्थाय दरिद्राय प्रदेयं भक्तिपूर्वकम् ।।

32. *Bhāgavata*-P. VII. 14.8 :—

यावद् भ्रियेत जठरं तावत् स्वत्वं हि देहिनाम् ।
अधिकं योऽभिमन्येत स स्तेनो दण्डमर्हति ।।

YOGA AND MODERN PSYCHOLOGY

Dr. C. T. Kenghe,
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I *Yoga Vis-a-vis Modern Psychology*

Yoga is a very old discipline or rather group of disciplines aiming at re-integration of human personality. These disciplines have evolved through several centuries beginning from early Vedic or Pre-Vedic period and literature concerned with them is very vast indeed. However, a very systematic discussion of them has been presented in the famous aphorisms believed to have been composed by Patañjali near about the beginning of the Christian era and we would restrict ourselves to these alone for the discussion of Yoga in the present paper. Personality and its reintegration form the subject matter of Modern Psychology also and as such an attempt is made here to evaluate Yoga from the view-point of Modern Psychology. Of course, Yoga can hardly be called a positive science which Modern Psychology claims to be, but the disciplines evolved in Yoga seem to accord with scientific findings ; they can certainly be compared with the findings of Modern Psychology.

After a long controversy, Modern Psychology has given up the attempt to define and discuss Psyche, soul or mind and fixed its concern with the study of behaviour in all its aspects. It has almost severed its connection with philosophical theories regarding mind, its location, survival etc. in an attempt to make itself an exact, positive science. Yoga, on the contrary, is certainly based upon some definite philosophical beliefs and theories which it claims to substantiate by means of the experience gained through its disciplines. This fundamental difference in approach should always be remembered while comparing the findings of these two sciences which are so apart from each other not only chronologically but also spiritually. Yet, there subject-matter and goal are essentially the same. Hence,

it would be worth while to see how far these two branches of knowledge can help each other in reaching their common goal.

In his introductory remarks, the well known commentator of Patañjali's Yogasūtras, Vyāsa—has described five different states of human mind called Kṣipta, Mūḍha, Vikṣipta, Ekāgra and Niruddha. In the first state, mind is thrown out towards the objective world through the senses. In the second state, mind is covered with ignorance. Such a condition is most evident in deep sleep. In the third state, mind is specially thrown out towards certain object or objects, at times showing some abnormal symptoms. It may be noted that these three states are not mutually exclusive and are experienced in ordinary human behaviour. Modern Psychology is mainly concerned with these very states and is trying to give a detailed analysis of the same, whereas Vyāsa remarks that these do not come under the purview of Yoga. Yoga is essentially concerned with prescribing certain psychosomatic discipline for rising above these three ordinary states of human mind and describing the experiences in the transcendental states of mind. Thus it can rightly be said that Yoga begins where modern psychology ends. Of course for rising above the ordinary states of mind, sound knowledge of these states is absolutely essential and hence, Yoga cannot be said to be altogether unconcerned with Modern Psychology. Similarly, Modern Psychology also need not restrict itself to understanding of ordinary human behaviour and would certainly like to understand further horizons of mind, if they could be studied scientifically. Study of Yoga may help in this direction and thus Yoga and Modern Psychology can prove to be complementary to each other.

The attention of several modern Psychologists has been already attracted towards Yoga and they are trying to use it for the advancement of their science. Especially the Depth Psychologists, Psychiatrists or Psychopaths are finding much helpful material in the methods of Yoga. Amongst early Depth Psychologists C. G. Jung was greatly influenced by Indian Philosophy and Yoga but he thought the ancient methods of Yoga may not suit the needs of modern society and hence, he did not apply himself to a detailed study of Yoga literature. It was in 1934, that a famous lady psychologist and psychotherapist —G. Goster—tried to study the system of Yoga from the viewpoint of Modern Psychology and came to the conclusion that the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali do really contain the information that some of the most advanced psychotherapists of the present day are ardently seeking.[1] Since then, psychologists are taking growing interest in Yoga and several studies of Yoga psychology have already seen the light of the day.

II *Yoga as Depth Psychology*

However, these are mostly studied by psychologists who have followed the traditional interpretations of the Yoga Sūtras. The present writer, however, found, after a careful study of the traditional interpretations for several years, that they contain a number of irreconcilable contradictions and inconsistencies which can be removed only by fresh interpretation of Yoga Sūtras in the light of Depth Psychology. I shall try to give here a very brief outline of this fresh interpretation.

Patañjali has defined Yoga as inhibition of mental modifications.[2] It must be remembered that it is a voluntary and conscious inhibition which widely differs from inhibitions caused by repressions which are automatic and unconscious ; such a voluntry inhibition leads to complete reintegration of personality with which one is able to experience one's real Self.[3] The Self-realisation or immediate knowledge of the Self is the final goal of Yoga. Patañjali has classified mental modifications on the basis of awareness and stated that they may be accompanied by tensions or may be free of them.[4] It is actually the modifications with tensions that obstruct direct awareness of Self, but it being impossible to separate such modifications in the stream of consciousness, it becomes necessary to inhibit all modifications. Patañjali has classified the innumerable mental modifications in five types on the principle of awareness. They fully exhaust all possible mental modifications. Thus our awareness may concern the objects, emotions and thoughts as they actually are or it may be an erroneous presentation of them or it may concern just verbal ideas having no correspondence in reality or it may be an awareness of void or absence or lastly it may concern some previous experience of any of the above mentioned types.[5] It is through these modifications, vibrations or waves that mind comes into contact with external world and also creates its own world. In this process, wherever it gets pleasure, it cultivates liking or attachment for the same and wherever it experiences grief, it cultivates dislike or repulsion for the same. In the course of time, these likes and dislikes become innate and start colouring further modifications as tensions. It is due to this colouring that mind loses awareness of the Self.

This circular process of modifications and tensions has no beginning in time. According to Yoga viewpoint, although body-mind-complex is indivisible for all practical purposes, mind is not born with physical birth nor does it die with physical death. Of

course, it is also accompanied by a subtle body during transmigratory period. Thus birth and death are concerned only with gross body and gross or conscious mind. Hence, mind is not completely blank at the time of birth, but carries in the unconscious, several impressions, subtle desires and passions accumulated during several previous existences. Thus modifications are not free of tensions even in early childhood and the unconscious has its roots in parental period. Thus Yoga has its own theory of the unconscious and is certainly concerned with Depth Psychology.

The present writer has already discussed the Yoga view of the unconscious elsewhere.[6] Here he proposes to compare it in brief with modern Depth Psychology. In this respect, it may be noted in the beginning that in spite of the fact that several Psychologists and Psychiatrists have come across reminiscences of the previous existences during their sessions, modern psychology is not prepared to accept the fact of the rebirth and hence, the modern theories regarding the unconscious do not go beyond childhood or racial inheritance at the most. If this point is left aside, on the whole. Jung's view of the unconscious comes much closer to the Yoga view-point. Freud's view-point of *libido* and the repressions caused by the pressure brought on the *Ego* due to the conflict between Id and super-ego has no exact parallel in Patañjali's theory. But Jung's view of libido and racial or collective unconscious has its parallel in Patañjali's theory of Kleśas or tensions. Patañjali postulates five tensions or 'Kleśas' that function on different levels of consciousness and cause the subtle impressions of actions and experiences to form the unconscious. Actually unconscious is just a collection of such impressions. The five tensions are nescience, self-domination, likes, dislikes and fear or clinging to existence.[7] Out of these nescience is the field in which the other tensions grow.[8] These latter are said to function remaining in completely dormant or subtle or conflicting or obvious forms. They fully mix with the conscious activity of mind only in the obvious form, but are most troublesome in the conflicting state causing a number of detractions like psychosomatic diseases, neuroses, psychoses etc. This may be called the subconscious state of the tensions as distinguished from the dormant one which is completely unconscious. Even while remaining dormant the tensions do adversely affect behaviour and hence, it becomes necessary to bring them to the conscious level i.e. in obvious form for finally getting rid of them and the instincts and passions repressed by them. In this theory, nescience is believed to be the very cause of mind itself

and hence, it goes even beyond Jung's concept of collective or racial unconscious. Other tensions are the factors responsible for forming the individual unconscious and amongst them self-domination reminds one of Adler's individual psychology, likes and dislikes, Freud's psychoanalysis and clinging to existence, existentialistic analysis. In Jung's analytical psychology as in Yoga theory, all these factors are combined in the concept of libido. Of course, the Yoga view of the unconscious continuing through several lives does make good deal of difference.

As for the methods, we must note first that Yoga is not primarily an abnormal psychology and hence, its methods are not meant for patients as such. However, like T. Burrow[9], Yoga also considers neurosis to be a fairly common feature of human behaviour. Of course, it is an obstacle in the path of Yoga and is required to be removed for further progress. The nine obstacles of Yoga are physical ill health, boredom, doubt, carelessness, laziness, incapacity to withdraw from objects, delusions, not reaching the required stage of psychic experience and inability to remain in it after reaching the same.[10] These are accompanied by distress, depression, nervous disorders and respiratory disturbance". Evidently, these are the symptoms of psychosomatic diseases and neurotic conditions. A number of remedies to treat the same have been suggested in the Yoga Sūtras and other Yogic texts and some of them may prove to be quite useful in modern psychiatry as well, while some others bear similarity with already current methods of modern psychiatry. Especially, recently, an Italian Depth Psychologist Roberto[12] Assagioti has included most of these techniques in his psycho-synthesis. In the short span of this paper it is not possible to discuss all the different techniques suggested in the Yoga Sūtras and other Yogic treatise for treating psychosomatic troubles. However, let us discuss in brief the most important technique prescribed for this purpose which forms also a part of the main Yogic discipline recommended by Patañjali. This is the technique of *meditation*,

Patañjali has specifically prescribed *meditation* or Dhyāna for eliminating mental modifications with tensions.[13] In this process, the practicant is required to arrest his customary images, and to fix his ideas on any one object of his choice-either within the body or in the world outside Thus, while he goes on stopping the activity of the conscious mind, the complexes in the unconscious get resolved and start rising up in the conscious mind in the form of memory. Patañjali calls it trouble of ideas.[14]

These ideas may take even a violent form and for some time, the mental condition of the practicant may get utterly disturbed. As an antidote to this trouble, Patañjali prescribes the repeated suggestion that they are the enemies. Why ? Because, just with little thinking one can realise that they result in endless misery and ignorance.[15] With this remedy, the ideas slowly disappear and for a time being, meditation continues to be calm and quiet. Patañjali calls this process the Yoga of following ideas and the two stages of meditation those with gross complexes and those free from gross complexes respectively[16]. First, only the gross complexes get resolved and meditation continues undisturbed for some period. But afterwards, the subtler complexes start getting resolved and again disturbance arises. It is also to be treated in the same way. Then finally, the meditation becomes really steady and higher psychic experiences begin with clarity of mind. These experiences also arise from the unconscious and thus according to Yoga, the unconscious is not only a store of repressed impulses, but also contains potential powers. Through a further process of meditation, they are made actual. Here, we have to enter in the field of what is called parapsychology and we will discuss it briefly in the next section. However, it may be noted here that even for treating neuroses, the Yoga method of meditation has several merits over the free association method of psycho-analysis which forms the hard core of modern method of psychiatry. A conditioned human mind can hardly proceed with free association which is certainly socially conditioned. Dr, Vinekar and Swami Kuvalayananda have quoted T. Burrow fully in support of this contention.[17] On the other hand, in meditation, there being no social fear, mind automatically starts getting free. The Yoga method of meditation goes much farther even of T. Burrow's phychoanalysis. It has not only therapeutic value, but is greatly useful for human advancement in general, as would be clear from discussion in the subsequent section of this paper.

III *Yoga as Parapsychology*

In recent times, vast material has been collected by psychic societies and parapsychological researchers regarding paranormal experience of human mind and a new branch is standing on the threshold of science awaiting permission of orthodox science. However although the literature on the subject has grown enormously and many noted scientists have also contributed to the, same permission, from orthodox science for entry into the holy hall of science is not being granted due to uncertainty of paranormal

experience. What these authors have recorded is mostly observation of paranormal phenomena. Rhine and others have carried on some experimentation in laboratories, but it has only established uncertainty of such phenomena. A good many persons do possess paranormal psychic powers, but how these powers are cultivated and why such phenomena occur has not been convincingly explained by any of these authors. Till such an explanation comes forth, parapsychology is not likely to be admitted even as a branch of the modern science of psychology. It does not mean, however, that science can conveniently overlook these occurrences or negate the very existence of the same. It has to find out an explanation, form hypothesis verify them through experimentation and arrive at definite conclusions and scientific laws and theories. Modern scientists are striving hard towards this goal, but they are finding many an apparently insurmountable difficulty in their path.

Can Yoga help them in this matter ? Several writers have already considered the matter and expressed divergent views on the same.[18] However, with due regard to the writers and their work, it must be noted that none of them has understood the Yoga theory as presented by Patañjali in his Yoga Sūtras, although some of them have dared to throw it overboard without understanding the same.[19] I have to refrain from discussing different shades of opinions expressed so far, but what I want to stress here is that in Yoga, Depth Psychology and Parapsychology form a united whole, although for the convenience of modern psychology, we may discuss them in different sections.

As already noted above, in the early stages of the practice of meditation, a Yogic practicant is required to tackle the individual unconscious. Psychic faculties called Psi by modern Psychologist do necessarily arise in the case of a Yogic practicant when his mind is fully purified through psycho-analysis during these stages. It is then, that the Yogin rises to the one-pointed state of mind. In this state, what the Yogin is required to tackle may be called 'Collective Unconscious' in modern terminology. It is marked by bliss and pure self-assertion. To speak in terms of tensions, the gross tensions obviously mixing in mental modifications are eliminated by this stage and the process of re-absorption commences.[20] The Yogin enters into the farther depths of mind, which no longer remain individual and enters the field of extra sensory perception. He transcends sense-perception (E.S.P). Dr. V.M. Bhat[21] has given a table showing (1) Patañjali's siddhi with its western equivalent, if any, (2) the Yoga aphorism referring to it and (3) an

explanatory remark. This table would show that Patañjali has mentioned many more paranormal than what modern para-psychologists have been able to observe. Patañjali has also given explanation for the same. Scientists may not and need not accept the same as infallible, but they can certainly take it as hypothesis and try to investigate the same for verification.

It should be noted that Yoga goes much beyond even para-psychology. For Yoga, the paranormal psychic powers are not goal in themselves, but only the means to complete and final reintegration of personality for which purpose, one is required to transcend even the one-pointed state of mind, Yoga is careful enough to warn that these powers are not benevolent in themselves and may prove even harmful to the practicant and the society, if they are not properly directed towards reaching higher stages of reintegration.[22] A Yogin getting involved in these powers may fall down to the abnormal state and create trouble for himself and for the society as well. Going through the paranormal experiences, the Yogin ultimately achieves freedom from all conditionings of mind. Such a Yogin alone is able to cross the barriers of nescience or initial error, which is metaphysically responsible for Mind itself. The Mind flows with a flood of pure objectless awareness, which is the final state of Yoga called Niruddha or inhibited transpsychic state.

To conclude it may be stated that Yoga has certainly got potentiality to guide modern psychology.[23]

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YOGA AS DEPTH PSYCHOLOGY

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Depth psychology and yoga

Can there be any relation at all between a subject of hoary antiquity like Yoga and an ultra-modern branch of knowledge like Depth Psychology ? Even Jung himself had realised the significance of Yoga in this context. However, he did not pursue the matter thinking that the old techniques of Yoga may not be suitable in the context of modern life. However, Geraldine Coster, herself a renowned psychiatric practitioner, undertook a comparative study of Yoga and western psychology and came to the conclusion that "......... Yoga being a system of extreme antiquity, is a complete thing and has seen and defined its goal, whereas analysis is still in its infancy"[1]. She further declared "Freud and his followers have given us, as it were, the first two chapters of our western—Yoga Sūtras. It remains for experimenters to discover an applicable equivalent for the remaining chapters"[2]. She also pointed out one fundamental difference between eastern and western psychology stating that "the former habitually and as a matter of course recognizes these layers of conciousness objectively whereas the latter has hardly as yet begun to differentiate them, at all"[3]. She finally expressed her conviction that the ideas on which Yoga is based are universally true for mankind and that we have in the Yoga Sūtras a body of material which we could investigate and use with infinite advantage,"[4] and that "the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali do really contain the information that some of the most advanced psychotherapists of the present day are ardently seeking."[5] This unreserved and unambiguous praise of Yoga by a recognised psychiatrist like Coster must have certainly contributed to growing interest in Yoga by other psychologists and psychiatrists.

Thus another psychiatrist Medard Boss has also confirmed that "The Indian science of man is far in advance of our comparatively modern psychology and psychopathology ... They have given

to these problems very much more time and mental energy than western science has devoted to investigating the external physical phenomena of the universe"[6]. Still another psychologist—H. Jacob tried to apply Hindu Sādhana techniques in psychiatry and published his research under the title "Western Psychotherapy and Hindu Sādhana"[7]. He has also found these techniques very useful Even a famous scientist like Aldous Huxley has suggested that "It might possibly behove one of the great foundations to spend a few million dollars creating a team to look into all these various scattered techniques for realizing desirable human potentialities—look into them, see whether they work as well as they are supposed to work, determine the underlying principles in the various techniques and finally formulate means by which these techniques and these principles could be applied in general education on every level, from kindergarten to graduate school."[8] Several other writers like Eliade[9] etc. have also touched this aspect in their books on Yoga.

Amongst Indian writers may be mentioned K. T. Behanan who studied Yoga under the guidance of wellknown psychologists and neurologists in America. He has also discussed the relation between Yoga and Psycho-analysis[10]. A similar study was carried on in America by Dr. S. L. Viṇekar. He and Swami Kuvalayananda have discussed psychosomatic and psychopathological value of Yoga also in their treatise on Yogic therapy[11]. He has also published his research papers in scientific journals showing the usefulness of Yoga in psychiatry[12]. Dr. Kumar Pal has published his dissertation on Yoga and psychoanalysis[13]. Dr. I. P. Sachdeo's thesis for Ph. D. on Yoga and psychoanalysis has also been accepted for the degree by the Allahabad University[14]. Besides these, several monographs on Yoga Psychology have been published so far.

However, most of these studies are based upon the current translations and interpretations of the Yogic texts. We do not find in them any fresh interpretation of the same. But, we are presenting here, altogether a fresh interpretation especially of Patañjali's Yoga Sūtras and it can be seen from the same that when understood as Depth Psychology, the text becomes all the more cogent, scientific and meaningful. Several apparent contradictions in the text get resolved with such an interpretation. Again, Patañjali's words are quite transparent and require no farfetching effort for interpreting them in terms of Depth Psychology. By understanding Patañjali's text in the light of his own expressions and definitions and not through any commentator as such, we get a much more deep and comprehensive picture of psyche than that presented by Freud and other Depth Psychologists. Let us see here a few prominent aspects of Patañjali's Depth Psychology.

The unconscious from the Yogic view-point

When we speak of the unconscious from the Yogic view-point, the very first question that arises is whether we can point out any word used in the Yogic text which can be said to be an exact equivalent, if not a synonym, of the unconscious. Fortunately, such a clear expression occurs in the Vyāsabhāṣya viz. 'Aparidṛṣṭa-cittadharma' which literally means the properties of mind which are not fully seen. Vyāsa has also quoted an ancient verse enumerating seven properties of mind which are not fully seen[15].

Before discussing Patañjali's view of the unconscious it will be worthwhile to see in brief the import of these seven properties of mind which are not fully seen. First of all, there are inhibitions formed by repression. Several of our instincts do not get any scope for expression due to social fear etc, and get repressed. Freud has fully dealt with this problem. Besides repressions, there are consequences of all our past deeds which form another property of mind not fully seen. These deeds, though forgotten on the conscious level remain as drives in the 'unconscious' and influence our behaviour. These may have been done in this life or in the previous ones. Thirdly, the impressions of our past experience in general also form a part of the unconscious. Fourthly, change or becoming is also a property of mind of which we may not be fully aware. Mind is the substratum of constant flux of ideas. Fifth, such property of mind is living or physical life. The sixth, latent property of mind is activity. No physical activity can be carried on without support of mind although we may not be aware of the same. Slips of tongue etc. can also fall under this head. Lastly, the 'unconscious' is not just the store of repressed desires but has also a great potentiality of attaining psychic and spiritual powers.

Having thus seen a traditional view regarding the contents and structure of the unconscious, as mentioned by Vyāsa, let us now see Patañjali's own veiw. Patañjali refers to the different layers of consciousness in connection with the Kleśas or tensions. After enumerating five tensions as nescience, self-domination, likes, dislikes and fear, he goes on to state that nescience is the ground in which the four subsequent tensions are nurtured and that these latter can function on four different levels of consciousness remaining completely latent, reduced, conflicting and obvious, respectively[16]. Here, the word latent, literally fast asleep, certainly implies the concept of the unconscious. Actually these tensions provide a mechanism which is responsible for formation of the unconscious. All actions associated with tensions leave their impressions in the unconscious. These impressions are carried through several lives and

so even at the time of birth, the mind is not blank, for it carries these impressions in the unconscious. Actually the unconscious is just a collection of such impressions. Some impressions are formed by the actions done in the present life and are added to those—carried from previous lives. As Patañjali says, next birth, span of life and pleasant or painful experiences in the same are determined by these impressions[17].

'Avidyā' as the Collective Unconscious and its difference from 'Viparyaya'.

Even the unconscious has got different levels, the deepest of them being the 'Collective Unconscious' which is called 'Avidyā' or 'nescience' by Patañjali. In this connection, it has to be particularly noted that Patañjali speaks of the other tensions functioning on the different levels, but says that Avidyā always remains at the deepest level providing the very ground in which the other tensions grow. Avidyā or nescience has been defined as "Supposing non-eternal, impure, pain and non-self to be respectively eternal, pure, pleasure and self."[18] This is said to be the initial error that brought in contact between the subject and the object. Thus, it is the very basis even of the universal or collective mind, which cosmogonically is the very first evolute of the original Nature. In terms of Depth Psychology, nescience can be equated with collective Unconscious. By understanding this import of Avidyā, we can also differentiate it from Viparyaya or false knowledge which Patañjali describes as a mental modification[19]. It is obviously a conscious property of mind. Nescience, on the contrary, is at the root not only of false knowledge but also of all other mental modifications including Pramāṇa or valid knowledge. We are born with nescience and it continuously remains as the basis of all our experience throughout the life, unless and until a transcendental stage is reached. In case such a stage is not reached during this life, it is bound to continue through subsequent lives in the same way as it has come from innumerable previous lives. All our scientific investigation and the whole of the objective existence as we know it is based on this nescience and after removal of the same, everything is bound to change its significance completely. Thus, nescience is a universal phenomenon functioning through every individual mind, though none is conscious of the same. It is hence, that it can be termed as the collective or Universal Unconscious.

The other four Kleśas and the Vikṣepas

Now we can turn to the other four tensions which are responsible for the formation of the individual unconscious. The first amongst these is Asmitā, self-assertion self-domination which has

been defined by Patañjali as apparent identification of the consciousness and the organ of perception[20]. Consciousness, pure objectless, is the real nature of the subject, whereas mind, the main organ of perception is but an object. However, at the stage of self-domination, the self loses its identity and becomes as though one with the mind. With this identification alone all further experience becomes possible and this experience makes the instinct of self-domination all the more firm. Then at the next stage arises the innate liking for certain objects. Patañjali defines it as the tendency arising out of the residue of pleasant experience[21]. All pleasant experience leaves its residue in the unconscious by which the mind cultivates liking for the objects concerned. Similarly, the next tension of dislike has also been defined by Patañjali as the tendency arising out of the residue of painful experience[22]. The individual cultivates the innate dislike for the objects which were previously responsible for painful experience. Lastly the mind becomes terribly attached to its phenomenal existence and continuity resulting into the final tension of fear or dread which Patañjali defines as the tendency which flows of its own accord and gets in the same way established even in the learned or the wise[23]. Patañjali further declares that these very tensions functioning on the different levels of consciousness help the unseen law of action and rebirth[24]. Thus they can be said to form the mechanism responsible for the making of the individual unconscious. Amongst these, self-domination can easily remind us of Adler's individual Psychology, likes and dislikes of Freud's psycho-analysis and the dread or fear of the existentialistic analysis. In Jung's analytical psychology, we find a combination of all these together with the concept of the collective unconscious. Yet, the Yoga view of the unconscious continuing through several lives does certainly make a difference.

These tensions especially when they are in the state of conflict give rise to certain physical and psychological conditions which require psychological treatment. These have been described by Patañjali as detractions or obstacles in the practice of Yoga. They are physical ill-health, boredom, suspicion, carelessness, laziness, incapacity to withdraw from objects, delusions, not reaching the required stage of psychic experience and inability to remain in it after reaching the same[25]. That these include psychosomatic diseases and neurotic conditions is evident from their concomitants which Patañjali describes as distress, depression, nervous disorders and disturbance in respiration[26]. These exactly are the symptoms of neurotic conditions described by the modern psychiatrists. Patañjali has prescribed several techniques for treating the same but we may

just consider here the most important amongst them from the Yogic viewpoint viz. meditation.

'Vitarkabādhana'' 'Pratipakṣabhāvana', 'Smṛtipariśuddhi'.

For understanding the psychiatric value of Patañjali's meditation, it is necessary to understand properly exact significance of the terms 'Vitarkabādhana', Pratipakṣabhāvana' and 'Smṛtipariśuddhi'. The word 'Vitarka' occurs in the Yoga Sūtras in two altogether different contexts and the commentators have not been able to relate the one with the other. The word has been explained by Patañjali himself in the second Pāda as—

'Vitarkabādhane Pratipakṣabhāvanam'

'Vitarkā Himsādayaḥ Kṛtakāritānumoditā Lobha-krodha-mohapūrvakā Mṛdumadhyādhimātrā Duḥkhājñānānantaphalā iti Pratipakṣabhāvanam'[23].

These Sūtras are full of psychological terms which if properly understood in the context would not only help understanding Patañjali's Yoga, but would also provide clues to modern depth psychologists for developing valuable methods and techniques. Here 'Vitarka' has been explained by Patañjali himself as 'Hiṁsādi' i.e. drives of violence etc. Sūtra 33 states that when the Vitarkas start disturbing, 'Pratipakṣabhāvana' is to be practised and Sūtra 34 explains the nature of the Vitarka's and of the Pratipakṣabhāvana'.

For grasping the full significance of Patañjali's statements, we must understand the context in which they occur. Patañjali introduces this topic after enumerating the Yamas and the Niyamas. These are the first two accessories of Yoga and form the general rules of conduct for a Yogin. How perfection in these is reached has been described by Patañjali immediately after the Sūtras under discussion. In this context, it can be seen that the eight accessories are not, all of them, stages in sequence. The Yamas and the Niyamas are to be observed to the extent it becomes possible for the practicant and at the same time the practice of Āsana etc. is to be started. Where the sequence is intended, Patañjali has clearly stated so. Thus Prāṇāyāma cannot be practised unless one gets physical stability and endurance with the practice of Āsana and further accessories are a process in continuation. This being not the case with the first two accessories, further practices can be started even before reaching the final stage in the practice of the Yamas and the Niyamas. In fact, reaching perfection in these practices is extremely difficult and requires the help of further

accessories. Such perfection is only reached by a Yogin who has reached the goal. Hence, if perfect practice of the Yamas and the Niyamas is made a pre-condition for further practices, hardly some one out of the millions of aspirants would be entitled for them. So one cannot afford to wait till perfection is reached in the practice of the Yamas and the Niyamas. Of course the practicant must keep the ideal before him and try to follow it to the best of his capacity.

Such an attempt certainly comes into conflict with some of the basic human instincts and so when one tries to stabilise the conscious mind by arresting one's customary images, the suppressed and repressed drives from the subconscious start upsurging and the practicant finds it extremely difficult to maintain his balance of mind. Such a stage is what Patañjali calls 'Vitarkabādhana'. Vitarkas are the drives upsurging from the subconscious. They might concern the persons and incidents that might have been long forgotten as far as the functioning of the conscious mind is concerned. However, at this stage they reappear in the memory with redoubled force. As Patañjali states, these violence etc. might have been committed by the person himself or manipulated through others or silently accepted while someone else was doing it. The motive behind them may be greed or anger or ignorance. To the extent of repression, these drives may be soft, moderate or extremely sharp. Accordingly when these drives rise to the surface of the conscious mind, they start pinching and even haunting the mind. But once these repressed drives come to the surface, it is not difficult to get rid of them and the process prescribed by Patañjali for this purpose is 'Pratipakṣabhāvana'.

'Pratipakṣabhāvana' is a type of contrary suggestion. It may be practised as an auto-suggestion or one imparted skilfully by an expert teacher. Any way, the aspirant who has already taken to the practice of Yoga can easily be convinced that these Vitarkas lead but to endless misery and ignorance and that whatever be the past condition, now his mind should be completely purged of them. Such a contrary suggestions or Pratipakṣabhāvana should result into purgation of memory or 'Smṛtipariśuddhi' which word we find used in another context, instead of the word Vitarka. Here, Patañjali is describing the 'Savitarka' and the 'Nirvitarka' Samāpattis. 'Samāpatti' is a process of absorbing the mind. Patañjali defines it as 'remaining in its own pure form like a pure gem, but taking the form in particular situations vis-a-vis the perceiver, the organs of perceiving and the object of perception[27]. It is to be noted that in this process of absorption, the drives from the subconscious mind

start disturbing in the form of Smṛti or recollection. While this process is thus disturbed with the ideas or Vikalpas in the form of word, sense and knowledge, it is called the 'Savitarkā Samāpatti[28]. When all these Vitarkas disappear after purgation of memory, the absorption is called 'Nirvitarkā Samāpatti[29]'. This is the first stage of the 'Saṁprajñāta Yoga which is reached by following the Vitarkas[30]. After the gross complexes are thus resolved, meditation continues calmly for some period. Then again disturbance arises due to subtler complexes. When these complexes are also resolved, the second stage of the Saṁprajñāta Yoga' is reached[31]. Here, with absolute clarity of mind, the potentialities of mind become actualized[32]. As already noted, Maslow's researches have greatly substantiated Patañjali's thesis in this respect. There are still further stages of Yoga which also deserve to be studied as Depth Psychology and we hope to present such a comprehensive study, in due course of time[33].

Notes

1. *Coster G.* : *Yoga and Western Psychology* P. 228.
2. Op. Cit. P. 229.
3. Op. Cit. P. 232.
4. Op. Cit. P. 244.
5. Op. Cit. P. 245.
6. *Boss Medard* : *A Psychiatrist discovers India.*
7. *Jacob . H.* : *Western Psychotherapy and Hindu Sādhanā.*
8. *Huxley A*, quoted in Journal of the Indian Medical Profession 67-68 P. 91.
9. *Eliade M.* : *Yoga : Immortality and Freedom.*
10. *Behanan K. T.* : *Yoga : A Scientific Evaluation.*
11. *Vinekar S. L., Kuvalayananda* : *Yogic Therapy.*
12. *Vinekar, Vahia, Doonganji* : *Some Ancient Indian Concepts in the treatment of Psychiatric Disorders*, The British Journal of Psychiatry, Vol. 112, No. 492, Nov. 1966.

    Vinekar, Vahia : *Psychophysiological Therapy Based on Ancient Indian Concepts*, Handbook of Direct and Behaviour Psychotherapy edited by R. M. Jurjevich, U.S.A. etc.
13. *Kumar Pal* : *Yoga and Psychoanalysis.*
14. *Sachdev I. P.* : *Yoga and Psychoanalysis (unpublished).*

15. चित्तस्य द्वये धर्माः परिदृष्टाश्चापरिदृष्टाश्च । तत्र प्रत्ययात्मकाः परिदृष्टा वस्तुमात्रात्मका अपरिदृष्टाः । ते च सप्तैव भवन्ति, अनुमानेन प्रापितवस्तुमात्र-सद्भावाः—

निरोधधर्मसंस्काराः परिणामोऽथ जीवनम् ।
चेष्टा शक्तिश्च चित्तस्य धर्मा दर्शनवर्जिताः ।। इति ।

व्यासभाष्य III. 15.

16. अविद्यास्मितारागद्वेषाभिनिवेशाः पञ्च क्लेशाः ।
अविद्या क्षेत्रमुत्तरेषां प्रसुप्ततनुविच्छिन्नोदाराणाम् । योगसूत्र II-3, 4

17. क्लेशमूलः कर्माशयो दृष्टादृष्टजन्मवेदनीयः ।
सति मूले तद्विपाको जात्यायुर्भोगाः ।। योगसूत्र II-12, 13.

18. अनित्याशुचिदुःखानात्मसु नित्यशुचिसुखात्मख्यातिरविद्या । योगसूत्र II-5

19. वृत्तयः पञ्चतय्यः क्लिष्टाक्लिष्टाः ।
प्रमाणविपर्ययविकल्पनिद्रास्मृतयः ।। योगसूत्र I-5, 6

20. दृग्दर्शनशक्तयोरेकात्मतेवास्मिता । यो॰सू॰ II-6

21. सुखानुशयी रागः । यो॰सू॰ II-7

22. दुःखानुशयी द्वेषः । यो॰सू॰ II-8

23. स्वरसवाही विदुषोऽपि तथा रूढोऽभिनिवेशः । यो॰सू॰ II-9

24 क्लेशमूलः कर्माशयो दृष्टादृष्टजन्मवेदनीयः । यो॰सू॰ II-12

25. व्याधिस्त्यानसंशयप्रमादालस्याविरतिभ्रान्तिदर्शनालब्धभूमिकत्वानवस्थितत्वानि चित्तविक्षेपास्तेऽन्तरायाः । यो॰सू॰ I-30

26. दुःखदौर्मनस्याङ्गमेजयत्वश्वासप्रश्वासा विक्षेपसहभुवः । यो॰सू॰ I-31

27. क्षीणवृतेरभिजातस्येव मणेर्ग्रहीतृग्रहणग्राह्येषु तत्स्थ तदञ्जनता समापत्तिः । यो॰सू॰ I-41

28. तत्र शब्दार्थज्ञानविकल्पैः संकीर्णा सवितर्का समापत्तिः । यो॰सू॰ I-42

29. स्मृतिपरिशुद्धौ स्वरूपशून्येवार्थमात्रनिर्भासा निर्वितर्का । यो॰सू॰ I-43

30. वितर्कविचारानन्दास्मितानुगमात्संप्रज्ञातः । यो॰सू॰ I-17

31. एतयैव सविचारा निर्विचारा च सूक्ष्मविषया व्याख्याता । यो॰सू॰ I-44

32. निर्विचारवैशारद्येऽध्यात्मप्रसादः ।
ऋतंभरा तत्र प्रज्ञा । यो॰सू॰ I-47, 48.

33. Cp. '*Yoga as Depth Psychology and Parapsychology*' being serially published every month since Nov.' 72 in 'The Divine Life' Rishikesh. Several articles connected with the subject have already been published in different journals.

A PHYSIOLOGIST'S VIEW OF AṢṬĀṄGAYOGA

DR. SATYA KAM VARMA

Though the comparative study of the three Yogas , Jñāna Yoga, Karma-Yoga and Dhyāna-Yoga is in itself an absorbing subject, we would discuss here only two aspects of the Dhyāna-Yoga, which are generally known as Dhyāna-Yoga and Haṭha-Yoga, and which have ultimately the same goal, i.e., the union with supreme self, through the control of one's own mind. Apparently, both these forms of Yoga seem to be of different nature, the former stressing the control of the mental agencies, the latter stressing the mental control through the physical agencies,

But a comparative study will prove that essentially both these systems are one, the seeds of both being traceable in the system of Patañjali, which stresses the role of the physical control in attaining the control of the mind.

2. *Eight Stages or Steps*

Patañjali recounts the eight steps, the Aṣṭa aṅgas, of the Yoga : Yama, Niyama, Āsana. Prāṇāyāma, Pratyāhāra, Dhāraṇa, Dhyāna, and Samādhi. The first five amongst them are aimed at increasing the concentration power of the mind, through the control of the physical activities.

3. *The Physical Control.*

Yamas are of five kinds : Non-violence, Truth, Non-stealing, Brahmacarya or the sensuous control, and Non-amassing or non-grabbing. All these kinds are practised only with the training and co-operation of the mind, though apparently they appear to be the result of the control of physical activities alone. The control of the physical activity is possible with the training and co-operation of the mind, which in its own two turn can be attained through

the control of the various physical activities, which are otherwise the result of the man's own desires or volition. Thus, ultimately even the Yamas train the mental tendencies, though through the control of the physical acts, which themselves are governed by the former.

Niyamas are also five : Purity, Contentment, Penance, Self-study, and Dedication to God. All the five require something more, partaking of the mind than in the aforesaid Yamas. Though apparently all these acts seems to be attainable only through the training of the mental agencies, still they require a great deal of physical training as well. Nodoubt, they are a step further in the direction of the mental control. But essentially they are only the steps to attain the higher mental control.

4. *The next three steps*

The higher mental control cannot be attained without the training and disciplining of the nervous system. All the neurine activity consists of voluntary and involuntary aspects. Because the first two steps train us to control the voluntary movements, so now it becomes easier to have a higher control of the nervous system itself, which itself is the source of all the movements, voluntary or involuntary. The next three steps are aimed at the complete control of all the voluntary and involuntary external activity, as well as that of the conscious thinking.

Āsana means 'physical positioning.' This may vary. But the ultimate aim of every sort of Āsana, including one made for meditation, is to control the movements of the various limbs and parts of the body, proceeding from the voluntary to the involuntary ones. Patañjali describes it as 'a steady and easy posture,' which is generally meant for meditation. Here one has to exert nothing, but to try, with concentration, to retain the same posture.

Prāṇāyāma, or the Respiratory control, comes next. Not only does it train one in controling the respiratory movements, but also it leads in the direction of control over the inner organs i.e. *viscera* which are otherwise the subject of involuntary control. The lungs, the abdominal viscera, the muscles, etc., are brought under control through the Prāṇāyāma. Patañjali tells us about the three kinds of respiratory control. But these were further vivified and developed alongwith the vivification of the Āsanas, by the Haṭha-yogis, leading towards the complete control over the voluntary muscular movements.

The third step is that of Pratyāhāra, which literally means 'bringing back'. All the neurine activity starts from the mind,

whether it is of voluntary, in-voluntary or conscious-unconscious character. Through the Pratyāhāra one tries to bring back all that activisation under direct or voluntary control of its very source of origin i.e. the mind. In Patañjali's words : In Pratyāhāra the senses are detatched from their subjects, through the continuous non-activisation, and appear to be losing their own identity, thereby gaining the identity with their original source, i.e. the mind. And thus the senses are made again subserviant to the mind.

5. *The Control Over the Cerebral Behaviour* :

The next three steps are practised only after gaining this complete control over the sensory behaviour, which is almost automatic and involuntary in nature, and leading towards the control over the brain-activity. After attaining the control over the physical aspect of the external neurine behaviour it becomes easier to establish control over thinking power of the same. This thinking power is the major aspect of the cerebral behaviour, which otherwise consists of all the sensory behaviour. The conscious or unconscious thinking does take place in the frontal portion of the cerebrum, and is directly related with the 'centre' or 'heart' of the brain. The function of the frontal lobe of the cerebrum is generally supposed to be that of the involuntary nature. After attaining the control over it, one might claim to have broken the bonds of the individual consciousness. Then only the 'pure self' is attained. That is the real union of 'individual consciousness or self' with the 'universal Consciousness or the Real self'.

And all this is attained through the three higher steps of Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi. We may call them the three steps of Meditatation. In reality these three steps are gradual, oneleading to the other. We may call them the 'three steps of Meditation.' In reality these three steps are gradual, one leading to the other. We may name them Concentration, Meditation, and 'Absorption'. All the three are the means to get control over the conscious-unconscious behaviour of the brain. Through Concentration one tries to control the diversifying behaviour of the thinking phenomenon. Through Meditation one tries to unifty or centralise the later. But Samādhi consists of two further steps : Sabīja and Nirbīja. In Sabīja, one retains the existential touch with the senses, while in Nirbīja the snapping of that link is total. It is the latter stage, which is supposed to be the ultimate aim of the Yoga. If Yoga is really the attainment of control over the mental tendencies, then Nirbija Samādhi must be its final aim.

6. *Conclusion* :

Thus it can easily be said that all the eight steps of Yoga, as Patañjali explains them, lead an individual from external to inner control of all the conscious-unconscious behaviour of the human-beings. And their attainment becomes easier, if only one knows the physiological context of their occurrence, which has been amply illustrated in the foregoing lines.

7. *Haṭha-Yoga* :

Parallel to this Dhyāna-Yoga of Patañjali, but essentially composed of the same stages, was another type of Yoga, which laid more stress on the Physiological aspect of the Yoga. It was known as Haṭha-Yoga. In it various processes are adopted to control, first of all, the voluntary and involuntary muscular and neurine movements. These processes start from physical purification. In all there are eight steps in it, parallel to those of the Dhyāna-Yoga. More precisely, these steps can be said to be the ladders, gradually leading towards the top. In reality the whole of the idea is based on the gradual control of one's nervous system. The whole system has been divided into eight *Cakras* 'which are symbolically taken as Kamalas' (lotuses) by the Siddhas. The very first mention of the eight *cakras* is found in Atharva Veda (X.2·3) where the body has been termed as 'the site of gods', and named as Ayodhyā. The whole idea seems to have started from a simile, according to which the human body was presumed to be like a fortress. Based on this, the whole of the nervous system was divided into eight Cakras, starting from the Mūlādhāra and ending in the Sahsrāra Cakra (or Sahasradala Kamala in Siddha terminology).

The seeds of these eight Cakras can very well be traced into the Yoga system of Patañjali itself. A few of the steps have been described even in Gītā, e.g. about the control of the Bhrūcakra or Ājñācakra. But their systematic division was made possible only by the philosophers of the Haṭha-Yoga.

8. *Similarity of Aims* :

It is generally believed that the aim of the Yoga, and that of Haṭha-Yoga in particular, was to attain some sort of Siddhis or 'powers'. Patañjali refutes it with vehemence. He declares these Siddhis as 'obstructions' coming in the way of the ultimate aim of Yoga, i.e., Samādhi. He knows them very well ; as is clear from his mentioning them as 'Aṇimādi'. According to him these powers misguide and mislead a man away from his aim of 'Union with the self'. It appears from his opposition to these 'siddhis' as if they were being accepted as the aim of the Yoga, in his time. Probably the 'siddha-cult' had become prominent even in his times.

The same is true about Haṭha-Yoga. The Siddhas and their followers practised this type of Yoga. They were misguided in accepting the Siddhis as some divine 'power', because this weaned them away from the real 'attainment', which was 'the union with Self', the ultimate and real aim of the Yoga. Haṭha Yoga did not originate as a parallel to the Dhyāna-Yoga. In reality, Patañjali has himself recounted and explained the physical training on the same lines, and in the same order. Furthermore, he has utilised the symbolic phraseology of the Haṭhayogis as well, e.g. the Sūrya, Candra. Dhruva, Nābhicakra, Kaṇṭhakūpa, Kūrmanāḍī, Mūrdhajyotis or Pratibhā, and Hṛdaya. Except the names of Nābhicakra and Hṛdaya, others are symbolic ones, commonly known to Hathayogis. The respective controls over them lead to certain attainments or 'powers'.

To show the similarity or parallelism in the aforesaid eight steps of both the systems, we may compare the statement of Patañjali regarding the respective stages. The table is as follows :

Stages	*DhyānaYoga*	*Indriya-Jaya or Haṭha Yoga*
6th Dhāraṇā (Kūrmanāḍī)	Deśabandhas'-Cittasya or the voluntary control of mind.	Sthairyam or Fixation (of mind).
7th Dhyāna (Mūrdhajyoti)	Pratyayaikatānatā : Continuity of Cognition	Siddhadarśanam ; Vā sarvam : The knowledge of the knowledgable
8th Samādhi : Hṛdaya	Arthamātranirbhāsam : only the knowledge of the ultimate reality.	Cittasamvit : The reality of Mind or Self.

A cursory glance at them will show that the Cakras or stages of Haṭhayoga are the stages of Physical control, while those of the Dhyāna-Yoga relate to the meditation. But they are related to each other. The same is true about the previous stages as well. The utmost we can say is that through the stages of Indriya-jaya, the respective stage of the Dhyāna-Yoga can be attained. Haṭha-Yoga differs from Dhyāna-Yoga in respect of its stress on the physical processes being employed for the attainment of needed control, while the latter stresses the mental control from the very beginning. In otherwords, the approach of Dhyāna-Yoga towards the same is a direct one while Haṭha-Yoga adopts an indirect approach for the same. But the ultimate aim and attainment remains identical in both the cases.

9. *Physiological Approach*

A comparative study of both will show that the same physioloical approach has been adopted at every step. For example :

Mulādhāra Cakra may well be termed as the Sacral Plexus, i.e. the conjunction of the lower most nerves, controlling the functions of the so-called lower-senses of sexual and uro-genital system. On the opposite side, it is Yama, and particularly Brahmacarya, through which the same aim is attained. Thus, through the control of Mūlādhāra-cakra or the source of natural urges the attainment of the Yamas becomes easier. The third Cakra, i.e. Nābhicakra, is associated with the third step of Prāṇāyāma. The ancient Indian anatomical and physiological concept about the Naval or Nābhi is a bit different. It is primarily based on the semblence with Foetus. Nābhicakra's control means the control of the Visceral activity, which is otherwise attained through Prāṇāyāma. Thus the control of the Thoracic and Abdominal viscera is the function of Nābhicakra and Prāṇāyāma. The last Cakra is called as Hṛdaya Cakra or the Sahasrāra Cakra. It is connected with the last stage of Samādhi. The latter has already been connected with function of the frontal lobe of the cerebrum. Hṛdaya, according to the Indian view, is supposed to be the centre of Consciousness : Hṛdayam Cetanāsthānam. Naturally, it is not the Heart, which carries the circulation of the blood. Rather, it is the 'heart' of the nervous system, which regulates the feeding, activisation and purification of the latter. It is the store house of the cerebrospinal fluid, which has been termed by the Siddhas as Amṛta in its pure state, and as Viṣa in its impure state. Thus, it may also be termed as the centre of neurine circulatory system. This central part of the brain is the centre of co-ordination and source of all sensuous activity.

In physiological terms the aim of the Yoga is to attain the full control over all the voluntary or involuntary neurine activity, after which one can know the reality about his own-self and could carry it at his own free will. Through the control of this heart of the brain the stage of Samādhi, inclusive of the control over the unconscious brain-activity, is attained.

10. *The Allegory* :

In the code-words of Haṭha-Yogis the whole of the process of Yoga is called the 'awakening of Kuṇḍalinī. Kuṇḍalinī is supposed to be a Serpent, sleeping in the Mūlādhāra Cakra. It is sleeping because of the effect of Viṣa, which is produced by the excessive indulgence in the sexual and other lower senses. Thus the Viṣa is the spent and putrefied form of the aforesaid 'Amṛta'. The sole aim, then, of a Yogin must be to try to purify this Amṛta in its

original form. That can be achieved only by controlling the sexual and other sensual activity. After this control the Kuṇḍalinī or the serpent awakens, and finds itself carried farthest away from its own real seat, i.e. the aforesaid heart of the brain. Again, the seat of heart i.e. this Sahsrāra Cakra or Thousand-petalled Lotus, is supposed to be lying with its face downwards, i.e. absorbed in the external world. With the approach of Kuṇḍalinī this cakra also awakens and, similarly turns upwards. This stage is described as the raining of Amṛta from the Viṣa.

11. *The Other Aspect*

Thus according to this allegory also, the sole aim of the Yoga comes to the control of the external or outworldly neurine activity, by way of controlling the different senses, and turn it towards the inner self. And it is attainable through some physiological steps, which require the spiritual or philosophical prompting as well. Without the help of the latter, the physiological aspect remains ineffective and impotent.

YOGA IN MODERN WORLD

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Yoga is a science of individual's well-being and it is universally applicable. Therefore, the system becomes relevant and valuable for modern men and women in every walk of life in any society. There are two main facts of Yoga—practical and theoretical. Whereas the practical side involves doing and performing certain Kriyās (practices), its theoretical side involves acquring proper knowledge of human problems and their solutions. It equips the individuals to lead a healthy and happy life. It makes the person capable of facing the problems of day-to-day life, career, profession and various unforeseen situations in a balanced and harmonious way. This is so because the teachings and practices of the system bring harmonization not only in the body and mind but also in the total activities of the individual. It follows then that when the individuals of a community or a country are healthy and aware of the human problems and their solutions, they will also make their society or nation better.

Thus, if we are desirous of making the communities and nations a suitable, healthy and enjoyable place of human dwellings the teachings and practice of Yoga become vitally important for achieving this goal. It is necessary, therefore, that proper attention be paid for imparting its lessons in such a way that people of every sex, religion and all nationalities may easily obtain proper training in the Yoga system.

It needs no pleading to say that Yoga is one of the treasured sciences of Indian culture. Its origin is as old as the Indian civilisation itself. Due to lack of proper academic and intellectual attention and care, this science could not be properly developed and systematized. As a result, though its history, literature and practices

have been carried on in various shapes and norms uptill now, its academic and systematic orientation and presentation are lacking. It is a need of the hour that this system be paid due attention and the necessary work in the field be taken up with all seriousness to benefit the people of this fast changing modern world.

Relevance and Significance

A close analysis of human problems would reveal that most people either suffer from physical or mental pain or both. It is true that a developed society provides better amenities of living than the developing ones and the individuals are better off financially and socially in the former than in the latter, but no where people are free from mental or physical pain. Surprisingly, the more a society is advanced, greater is the mental pain to the individuals. Seen in this context, it compels us to think what system can provide a relief, a cure, a way out and a solution to this ever increasing problem of mental as well as physical health. We find the solution in the teachings and practces of the Yoga system. Let me explain what this system of Yoga is.

Yoga System

In order to make the methodological processes of Yoga system comprehensible, a brief discussion about the causes of human troubles appears essential. All troubles which affect the mind and body of an individual spring from three basic sources : (i) Nature, (ii) Society and (iii) Self, which have been termed as *Daivika*, *Bhautika* and *Ātmika* by Kapila in his Sāṁkhya philosophy.

The problems arising out of a Nature could be in the form of some natural calamity, danger from certain animate creatures, and due to the peculiarity of natural phenomena. The societal problems, likewise, could be religious, ethnic, racial, economic, political etc. in nature or it might involve adjustment to certain, customs, manners, way of life etc. of a particular community. Similarly, there could be countless problems of individual's own creation, which arise because of certain beliefs, faith, notions, habits, manners and also because of some inner feelings; such as, jealousy, revenge, love, romance, likes and dislikes.

People of every society, be that industrial, agrarian, tribal or primitive have been faced with various problems arising out of these three above mentioned sources, more or less, in the same way as we have to face them today. Though the nature, forms and shapes of human problems have changed because of changes in social

conditions, yet basically, they remain the same Seen in this context, it would be interesting to know what the early thinkers of Yoga have thought over these human problems and what solutions they have provided.

Among the fore-fathers whose contribution became the foundation of Yoga system is Kapila. Therefore, let us first see what Kapila has to say on this problem.

Sāṁkhya Philosophy

The contribution of Kapila (700 B.C.) is the Sāṁkhya Philosophy. The first question which is raised in this Philosophy is : What is the cause of *Duḥkha* (sorrow) and what is the way of obtaining *Mukti* (liberation) from it ? It is the answer provided by Kapila to the question he himself raised, became what is know as Sāṁkhya Philosophy.

According to Kapila the answer to all human sorrows is *Samyag Jñāna* (proper knowledge). Its absence causes *Duḥkha*. When the individual develops and acquires "proper knowledge" about *Puruṣa* (self) and *Prakṛti* (Nature) then the happenings and causations in any of the three sources (mentioned above) do not cause *Duḥkha*. This implies acquiring a scientific knowledge about Rajas, Tamas and Sattva *Guṇas*, and all the Tattvas (elements) of Prakṛti together with a knowledge about the composition, function, and corelationship of sense-organs, mind, intelligence and the totality of Puruṣa (self). When the individual becomes so knowledgeable, he attains the power of overcoming pain, maintains mental equilibrium and obtains pleasure, happiness and excellence in life.

But this Sāṁkhya Philosophy did not show the method and process of obtaining the goal. Now it needed a system in order to help the individual achieve what had been so rightly stated by Kapila. This system was provided by Patañjali in his Yoga Sūtras.

Patañjali's Yoga Sūtras

Though the Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali (300 B.C.) is a treatise on methodological process for obtaining the goal laid down by Kapila, it also adds an important aspect to it. Whereas Kapila emphasized acquring *Jñāna* which involves only the *mind*, Patañjali's system of Yoga on the other hand, involves both *mind* and *body*. In this respect the *Puruṣa* of Pantañjali has to do two things simultaneously, that is, he must acquire *Samyag Jñāna* and also he must perform Yoga practices in order to achieve excellence of both body and mind. This way, by combining Jñāna and practices together, the individual would attain not only excellent health but would also

be able to maintain a harmonious relationship between the mind and the body. Thus, we find that Patañjali's Yoga system provides a better and more thorough answer to our problem of physical and mental health.

Since Patañjali's system involves knowing and doing both, his method includes all those steps which are essential for obtaining the desired goal on both levels—physical and mental. These steps are eight in number. They are the eight steps or *Aṅgas*, Yama, Ni yama etc.

Since these eight steps of Patañjali were not very comprehensively discussed in his Yoga Sūtras, further works were necessary for covering them properly. In order to facilitate the practitioner, these steps were later grouped under different Yogas according to their nature and substance. The Yogas which cover these steps are the following four :

Jñāna-Yoga (covers Yama and Niyama)

Haṭha-Yoga (covers Āsanas and Prāṇāyāmas)

Karma-Yoga (covers Pratyāhāra)

Rāja-Yoga (covers Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna and Samādhi)

It can be seen that whether one follows the eight steps of Patañjali or Practices the four Yogas mentioned above, he obtains the same result—physical and mental health and excellence. This division of eight steps under four Yogas makes it easier for any person to comprehend the system well and perform the practices according to personal need and interest.

With these descriptions about the importance and significance of the Yoga system, let me explain how and in what way its teachings and practices can be made available to the people of the world. The question is : What could be a proper way of imparting lessons in Yoga ? The people who can learn Yoga are of two major categories. First, those who are engaged in learning at academic institution and second, those who are settled in life. Therefore, the teaching of Yoga has to be so shaped and oriented that people of both these groups may learn the system easily and with equal efficiency. For accomplishing the above task, the primary need is to prepare teachers who can impart lessons on both academic and nonacademic levels.

For training the teachers, we must orient Yoga on academic lines. Any meaningful attempt in giving an academic shape of Yoga must identify and determine its various fields and then develop them properly. The established fields and branches of Yoga which are relevant and valuable are :

Haṭha-Yoga (Science of physical health)

Rāja-Yoga (Science of Concentration and Meditation)

Jñāna-Yoga (Science of acquiring knowledge)

Karma-Yoga (Science of Action)

RECIPROCITY OF ASTROLOGY
TO
PATAÑJALI YOGA

DR. TEJ SINGH PH. D.

The word, *Joyotis* in Sanskrit denotes light; and its science refers to one that radiates light; or deals in the radiations of light. By its singular position of the perspective of radiative lights, it is regarded to be the highest of all sciences as the following stanza shows :

यथा शिखा मयूराणां, नागानां मणयो यथा ।
तद्बद् वेदांगशास्त्राणां, ज्योतिषं मूर्ध्नि तिष्ठति ।।

But the light includes both the light within and the light without. The science of jyotiṣa is never complete unless it takes account of the light that is within every individual or being. It is for this reason that the science of jyotiṣa had been of old divided into two categories of Astronomy and Astrology or *gaṇita* and *phalita* jyotiṣa. The former deals with heavenly bodies or planets and their movements; while the latter accounts for their effects on the living beings or life as a whole. Due to the intricacy and incomprehensible nature of the latter, that is, of Astrology, it is very often regarded as empirical, vague and unscientific and less believed in the modern materialistic culture. But in Nature, all are being governed and actuated by the paramount law of Karma. Nothing in this universe, physical, mental, psychic or divine, can escape its operation. Refinement of nervous system and clarity of intellect is needed to understand its finer operations which are discussed in the sciences of Astrology and Patañjali's yoga. In the present paper we shall try to make out their scope and perspectives, and their reciprocity to each other.

Personal element prejudices judgment and does not present a correct view of the perspective with which a scientist tries dispassionately to judge and formulate laws of its domain. Where perspective is the subjective itself, difficulties aggravate in its discernment and in forming a correct judgment. It partakes the nature of the living ; and so varies from the perspectives of the material sciences. The personality of the scientist is quite distinct from his perspective ; and thus he is able to form a distinct dispassionate and unprejudiced view of the subject he investigates. The sciences of Astrology and Patañjali Yoga of which perspectives are subjective, investigate into the forces which are universal, and affect the inner forces working with in the investigator himself. Thus judgments and investigations remain prejudiced so long as the investigator's intellect remains tinged with a sense of egoistic separateness. Without refining the inner self so as to embrace the universality of life, truths of Astrology and Yoga cannot be revealed.

The science of Astronomy, gaṇita-jyotiṣa, which is varying predominantly materialistic and is much akin to modern material sciences, is, according to the *Sūrya Siddhānta*, being governed by the invisible Living Forces which actuate and govern the movements of the physical planetary mass of the heavenly bodies.

अव्यक्तरूपाः कालस्य, मूर्तयो भगणाश्रिताः ।
शीघ्रमंदोच्चपाताख्याः, ग्रहाणां गतिहेतवः ॥

According to *Sūrya Siddhānta,* these are the varying components of the Time's subjective Potentate, incomprehensibly rotating in their respective orbits, and making out their respective attitudes of varying degrees, which act as efficient conditions for the movements of their respective visible physical mass. Thus the author of *Sūrya Siddhānta* maintains that in the sphere of Astronomy also, it is the Living Forces which are actuating the movements of planets and other heavenly bodies ; and thus, the whole universe is being governed and controlled by the Living, hence conscious forces, and not by inert blind matter which the modern Evolution has tended to discover since the beginning of the last century.

The tendency of the modern scientists has been mostly for induction and experiments which are suited to the perspectives distinct from the experimenter's self and not touching the agencies of universal character. According to the ancient wise men of the East, the visible universe has come out of the Incomprehensible Living ; and there is discrepancy in their respective modes of thinking ;

The Ancient believes that there are many unilateral living changes before the world of duality (figure and form) comes out to view and make deductions on those unilateral mono-living forces which are beyond the scope of physical experiments of the modern scientists. Only the Yogic method of trans-egoistic character can attest to their truths and verities. We are now concerned to review those truths ; and try to find out similarities and identities in the fields of Astrology and Patañjali's Yoga.

According to the concepts of Indian Astronomy, the first manifested in this universe was time or Duration which, as the *Sūrya Siddhānta* puts it, is both Mūrta (manifested) and Amūrta (Unmanifested). The latter is ever-present, ever-existent, ever-potent, and is never created, while the former are the subsequent modifications and degenerations of the latter to give birth to a universe of figures and forms for the activities and playful dealings of individual beings. Space was not when time or Duration, the first-born, energised its existence. It was both the efficient and material cause of the coming universe ; and space like the Gaussian system of co-ordinates existed in the subjective womb to give forth many shapes, forms, entities and individualities. It was at this stage that the invisible Living Forms (अव्यक्तरूपा: कालस्य मूर्तयः), Formative Units of Energy, were created, which are propelling and actuating the physical mass of planets. From the contrary angle of vision, they are rather the Residuals of that Most Potentate Pravahaḥ (प्रवहः), Potency of life which supersedes all ; and all are being energised and enlivened by its potentate presence.

Astrology and Astronomy take their respective start from this subjective Duration-stage of the Ultimate's modifications, and study the perspective from their own view-point. Astrology studies the efficient conditions of this living stage : while Astronomy deals in its material ones of physical diffusion, moments and motion. The same subject, the same stage is being reviewed from two different angles of vision. Astronomy studies the subject spatially or materialistically ; and so the individuality or identity of the perceiver is distinct from that of the percieved ; hence discernments, results and judgments of the perceiver are more precise and accurate than in Astrology wherein the perspective is of the Living constituted of agencies of universal character, which cannot be brought down to the tests of experiments and induction. It is the Living itself which deludes wisest contrivances of an experimenter to come to a correct judgment, unless he divests his sharpest intellect of his innate egoistic prejudices, which is possible only by the subjective practices of Pātañjala Yoga.

The relation of Astrology to Astronomy is that of the soul with its physical body. It is the life-essence of the science of Jyotiṣa (ज्योतिष) ; but at the same time it is so difficult to study and learn, due to the presence of life-element which is conscious and universal. According to the Yoga-Sūtras of Patañjali, consciousness means identity (greater or less) of the living with the living (तत्स्थतदञ्जनतासमापत्तिः) ; and this implies awakening in the stage of universal character, which modifies the psychic state of the perceiver to what he or she wishes to entertain and cognize. This awakening into the universal character is the chief differentia of the living, which waxes more or less according to the evolutionary progress of a being. It forms a component part of the perspective of Astrology that deludes even the wisest attempt in the task of faithfully and accurately delineating the character of a subject. Without leading a chaste life and working assiduously in its perspective so as to effect and evolve progressively a more refined stage of nervous system, it is impossible to pronounce quite accurately predictions in Astrology. Due to the life-element in Astrology, it is both a science and an art ; and requires assiduous and diligent work for perfection of its art. No science is complete unless it is studied and reviewed in all its pros and cons.

But there is limitation to these sciences of Astronomy and Astrology. They proceed with the downward progression of Time. The results of Astronomy can be predicted, tested and verified from the physical happenings of the movements of planets ; and so their accuracy can be judged like all other material seiences. Astrology takes recourse to the stage of the living, where all planets, individual and entities are united ; and there is interaction of influences of them all according to their respective strength. Thus the effect of the influence of planets does take place in an individual or being in its pre-natal or trans-egoistic potential stage of Saṃskāras that sustain and carry on the life-voyage of that individual. A human Ego is constituted of the combined effect of the influences of the planets at the time of birth ; and varies from individual to individuals in relation to difference in time, place and atmosphere of their birth. Over and above the stage of their influences where the whole living or *Life* is one and united; and the *Sat* (Essence) has not quickened into Duration, Astronomy and Astrology both become mute and helpless. Only One *Sat* or *Life* prevails—the source and centre of Life and of the Universe, call it by whatsoever name you please, God, Īśhwar, Brahma, Praṇava and so fourth. That is beyond the clutches of Karma ; and all principles of Astronomy and Astrology fail to predicate it. Such is the stage which the Yoga Sūtras of

Patañjali point out and refer ; and try to find out ways and means to attain it.

The *Yoga Sūtras* of Patañjali deal chiefly with the position and varying stages of the Living, of which the visible symbol is *citta* ; and try to explain its genesis, workings and higher aspects where it could be absorbed or transmuted into the Universal Living. In the whole body of *Yoga Sūtras* Patañjali has touched and solved the problem from four angles of vision, namely, 1. *Samādhi-Yoya,* 2. *Kriyā-Yoga*, 3. *Aṣṭāṅga-Yoga*, and 4. *Kaivalya-Yoga*. It is a mistake to restrict Patañjali to Aṣṭāṅga only as the majority of commentaries on the subject do. Aṣṭāṅga Yoga is the lowest kind of yoga in Patañjali ; the other three Yogas deal directly with the Living ; and make out finer and more subtle stages of matter in winding up the diffused courses of Nature.

In the beginning of the second chapter of *Yoga-Sūtras* Patañjali refers to the *Kriyā-Yoga* wherein he has described the manifestation of a living human being by the subjective fivefold Kleśas-*Avidyā*, *Asmitā*, *Rāga*, *Dveṣa* and *Abhiniveśa*. They are the modifications in a graded course in an individual's life. These subjective factors do not stand or work co-ordinately ; but are vertically graded into four successive stages as : (1) *Avidyā* (2) *Asmitā* ; (3) *Rāga*, *Dveṣa* ; and (4) *Abhiniveśa* respectively. Objectively or the objective constituents which serve the subjective (तदर्थ एव दृश्यस्य आत्मा II. 21) automatically begin to run after it according to their respective grades in the same way as the iron fillings towards a piece of loadstone. Patañjali designates these objective stages as Guṇa-Parvāṇi and enumerates them from the lowest upwards respectively as Viśeṣa Aviśeṣa Liṅga-Mātra and Aliṅga stages of matter.

The Viśeṣa stage is one in which we as physical beings are living ; and wistfully clinging to our physical possessions. It is a stage of static energy of the soul ; and is constantly apprehending the fear of Death which will deprive it of its physical possessions it has so long been identifying itself with and cherishing.

Next higher to it is the dynamic stage of the soul operating in duality against the co-ordinated forces working in the mundane world. These are the expressions of the dynamic soul ; and deal in sphere of the Living as electric and magnetic. But higher than that is the extensionless magnetised living stage of the soul, which mind

fails to comprehend ; and which passes the scope of gravitational waves of planets ; and contends with the Pravaha (प्रवहः) current of the universe—the Creative Impulse of Duration. It can be regarded as the fourth dimension of the universe, namely, the Time whence all entities and individualities including the planets, the sun, the moon and others emanate. It is the extinction of extension. The whole Living now breathes into rotatory modes or the unilateral moves. Such is the stage whence all our entities and identities ensue ; and is the source and end of all material sciences including Astronomy and Astrology.

The constitution of the Ego makes its first appearance at this unique duration-stage of the Universal Living, and comes down surrounded specifically by these planetary influences. Emanations from the sun, the moon and other planets begin to effect and modify the origin and shape of an individual or the potency of its soul ; and circulate its life-voyage under their combined effects. A Jīvātmā vagrantly roams under these influences in this world, unless inwardly it musters to the centre of the *Living*, surrounding all to the *One*—Whence it has proceeded, by recognizing its true Existence of Life. Sri Bhāgvatam traces a very faithful delineation in the following stanza:

ग्रहा निमित्तं सुखदुःखयोश्चेत्, किमात्मनोऽजस्य जनस्य तैः वै ।
ग्रहैः गृहीतस्य वदन्ति पीडाम्, क्रुध्येत् कस्मै पुरुषः ततोऽन्यः ॥

The stage of Puruṣa or Ātman II.23.54 is higher than the existence of these planets and other heavenly bodies. It is the true perspective of Patañjali's Yoga and refers to the *Aliṅga* conscious stage of matter, the utmost pitch of the Conscious, the Fifth Dimension of the universe, where even Duration is being controlled by a Yogin to attain the final Bliss, the Highest Consciousness (महानुभूतिः सकलानुभूतिः).

In Astrology vivid descriptions are made with regard to the planets' respective influences and their various Yogas. Some planets cast their evil shadows before, while others their auspicious ones. Some times their influences are counteracted by their different combinations—suspicious turning into inauspicious and vice versa. It is the work of Astrologers to interpret these yogas and benefit the public by their treasure—house of specific knowledge in their mundane life. But, methinks, it is an individualistic, one-sided and partial view. In God's creation, there is nothing bad. If apparently

worse results are yielded to a particular position or situation, they are meant for future betterments. People judge a situation from a specific point, but that cannot be regarded as an all-embracing case. In certain diseases venomous ingredients are administered to restore health to a patient ; and so the efficacy of that drug cannot be adjudged to be always wicked. In the pantheistic view, all creation is bliss.

Subjectivity or sense of consciousness progresses with every dissipating stage of objectivity, The phrase "*Dissipating stage of objectivity*" used here does not mean absolute loss or annihilation of objectivity, as there is no vacuum in Nature ; the place of grosser elements is being occupied by finer ones in the absense of the former. Only finer elements of least tenuity usher in ; and pave the way for the subjective to act more efficiently and vivaciously in proportion to the range of the least-attenuated elements that have become constituted into his objective self with the progressive sense of his evolved existence. By too much concentration and living a life of universal values, life of grosser surroundings is given adieu ; and world of duality becomes ineffectual to him. His angle of vision is changed ; and subjectivity or the Living becomes his perspective—the source and centre of every entity, object and individual. In the most steadily-concentrated stage of mind, the sense of dualism is annihilated or wound up : and a living oneness or the universal subjective prevails.

For attainment of such a blessed stage of life which is possible only by the subjugation of the egoistic constituents, Patañjali has prescribed a practical course of subjective winding up by the process of the *Pratiprasava.* It can better be comprehended by an example of a burning hearth of inexhaustible flames, of which sparks are constantly coming out ; and their ashes, after some time, are intermittently falling down at distances on earth. If we pick up a particular bit of ash among them and ask you to locate its origin and position in the issuing blaze of the hearth, you will fail to designate it, because originally they are all one and the same burning flame of fire. It is the subsequent conditions and circumstances that led them forth to different conditions and places. Similar is the case of every entity and individuality of the universe. These are the invisibly operating influences of the First-born Divine under which the destiny of an individual is warped and woofed. The Prati-prasava process requires a thorough knowledge of the progressive stages of the subjective constituents, where knowledge of Astrology plays a better part.

We shall now take up the Tārakasiddhi which is most akin to the principles ofAstrology.

तारकं सर्वविषयं सर्वयाविषयम् अक्रमं चेति विवेकजं ज्ञानम् । III- 54

क्षणप्रतियोगी परिणामापरान्तनिर्ग्राह्यः क्रमः । IV. 33

These are the two sūtras wherein Patañjali has stated and defined the scope and perspective of *Tāraka-Siddhi* or *Vivekaja jñāna*. He formulates that the Tāraka knowledge . is omniscient. It discloses every subject in all its quality as well as quantity and also its vicissitudes of all the times. It is attained by doing *Saṃyama* or absolute control concentration beyond the egoistic sense over the Energising Essence of Duration or Time itself ; or turning consciously the subjective into itself. Many of the readers will feel puzzled at the queer expression of the last sentence. A western mind, especially of Kantian philosophy, regards Time to be a category or mode of thinking that has no substantial or realistic stand in the cosmos. Indian Philosophers like Patañjali and Vyāsa, and Astrologers hold the contrary view. According to them, actuality of Time is the Living Sattva, and is the First Emanation of the Divine. It is the Breath of God that circumscribes the whole within its incomprehensible orbit, and exists by succession or rotatory modes. The whole universe or space was in its womb which came out by extension. It is purely subjective. Such is the high conception of Indian Philosophers and Astrologers regarding Time, on which the great edifice of Indian Philosophy and Astrology is built.

Saṃyama is another term in the *Yoga Sūtras* which is least understood by commentators; and so the readers do not understand its real significance. Patañjali's *Saṃyama* is the progressive triple alliance of Dhāraṇā, Dhyāna, and Samādhi, which supersedes the subjective and rotates in the cosmic potential. It is the evolutionary progress in the Time's magnitude that controls the effects of planetary waves, the successive emanations of the Living. Duality is transcended ; and the spirit of the Yogin merges in the universal cosmic living, the source and centre of all life, consciousness and knowledge. The *Saṃyama* in the rotatary move of duration and in its successive course is qualitative, and unfolds higher and higher perspectives of knowledge and intelligence. This is called *Vivekajajñāna* which is the merging of the subective into itself, sublimating the individual into the universal. The knowledge of Astrology is of great help in realizing this highest stage of Life and Bliss. Thus we find an inherent congruity and identity in Astrology and Pātañjala Yoga.

This correlation of Astrology and Pātañjala Yoga, however, leads us only to a distant place, if we do not trace and follow the principles of Bio-physics, that is, the biological transcendental course of life. Yoga and Jyotiṣa are merely theoretical, and are of little value in our practical life, unless we translate these sciences and adjust their laws in the perspective of Physiology and its higher course. The highest aspect of life in a human organism is the nervous system and its refinement. The Haṭha system of Yoga lays great importance in an empirical way on the refinement of the nervous system in its practical teachings of Āsanas and Prāṇāyāma ; but is too bewildered to analyse faithfully the successive cosmic courses of life where the forces working within individual organisms and those without are being united and finally turn into one greatest magnitude of Life. Yoga and Jyotiṣa can never lead an aspirant to his desired destination without a perfect knowledge of Āyurveda. They are the triple aspects of one Divine Head of Life ; rather the same Divine Head has been viewed and measured from three angles of vision by the ancient Riṣis of India.

In the modern science of Biology, the cell-theory plays a prominent part in the formation and course of organic life of an individual. It is the cells and their segmentation-field that constitute a living organism. A human individual is a bundle of countless cells, or is a multi-cellular being, in whom varying cells of different forms and qualities, carry out their destined parts ; and their sum-total combinedly displays a human life or organic conscious activity. In the further analysis of their anatomy, we find that it is the mitotic process in each cell which gives birth to two daughter-cells by its constriction in the middle ; and then its final annihilation. Two polar stars or the magnetic current of the living in the dissipating cell are transposed to the newly-born even cells ; and thus the magnetic current of life remains continued in the organism. In the life-history of organic evolution, we find the central nervous system to be the latest evolution in the form of a human being where the gens of sex and consciousness are lying buried inseparably together. The Sanskrit words, *Manasija* and *Manoja* clearly show that they had been perfectly conversant with this principle and that they made investigations in the problem.

Modern Evolution starts with the most rudimentary forms of organic life with vague sense of consciousness, and as the historic stages of evolution proceed upwards, there is a continued successive progress with physical transformations and higher and higher

sense of consciousness. This higher sense is constituted or brought forth by formation of refined nervous system wherein an act of intelligence and will is carried out by a co-ordinate constructive structure of neural cells. The Psychic sphere in a human continuum is co-ordinately beset with a series of continual adjustments and structures of neural cells which are sensibly tangible and constitute its counterpart, the objective self. The whole human life is thus physically circuited in a dual-affected psychic or magnetic stage This physical or objective continuum is being governed and sustained from such evolved or magnetic stage of human life which in the present state, it is not possible for a normal human being to control fully and to subdue its physical sequences. Patañjali prescribes means ; and imparts practical lessons even to control such evolved stages, which, when interpreted and analysed in the modern concepts, reveal higher truth of the sex and further evolution of nervous system.

Physically interfusion of two erotic cells (one male, the other female) originates a segmentation-field, and gives birth to a human individual life. Such interfusion takes place in a magnetic stage whence the diffused course of life takes a downward course. A living human form in physical dimensions grows, develops and plays a part in the visible arena of the physical world. If, somehow, that source of individual life, by supernatural efforts, could be controlled, withheld and transmuted within into the inward deep, it would evolve to higher and better phases of life, where the dual courses of matter and spirit are wound up ; the three extensions of space would be annihilated and the unilateral courses of the magnetic living being would prevail. The sex-energy, instead of going down to sustain and nourish only a physical continuity of individual life, now opens the regions of the Divine. It is the divine marriage of the sex with the spirit. It is Divine Bliss, the Highest conception of *Ardha Nārśvara* God.

Such are the highest teachings of morals, philosophy, science and religion which an Institution like ours *Yoga-Jyotiṣa-Āyurved Ashram, Nadsa, Farrukhabad U.P.*, tries to inculcate, teach and preach on the sound footing of the philosophy of Patañjali and on its interpretation in the light of modern sciences. Arrangements are also being made to make comparative studies of Jyotiṣa and Pātanjala Yoga and to disclose their closer affinity to each other.

YOGA AS HOMEOSTASIS

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The ancient science of Yoga which originated in India has recently aroused world-wide interest. In many countries institutions have been established for teaching the theory and practice of Yoga. Traditionally it is looked upon as a spiritual exercise, an accredited means of realising mystic consciousness. In some quarters it is regarded as an art of mental healing. Even secular minded people are found to welcome the practice of Yoga as beneficial to mental and bodily health. In this paper I shall try to explain Yoga in terms of the concept of *Homeostasis* which has been found useful in describing various phenomena of our body and mind.

The word homeostasis literally means "standing the same". It refers to the tendency inherent in a living organism to restore its lost equilibrium. On the physiological plane equilibrium consists in a kind of balance among the functions of the body. An animal body always tends to maintain this equilibrium. Thus, when lactate is injected into a vein equilibrium is gradually restored by elimination through the kidneys. This is an example of homeostasis on the physiological plane. Here the bio-chemical mechanism by itself is competent to restore the balance, and the adjustment is physiological. But sometimes the physiological processes may not be sufficient by themselves to reestablish equilibrium. In that case the whole organism is required to act and equilibrium is restored through behaviour. Thus in a dog water-deprivation causes the thirst-drive which impels the creature to seek water to drink. This is an example of homeostasis through behaviour. With his superior intelligence man in particular seeks to restore equilibrium in many

different ways. When oppressed by a chilly weather we put on a coat or build a fire to warm ourselves. This is an instance of homeostasis through a simple manipulation of the environment. But sometimes adjustment requires much more skilful behaviour, and the learning of the skill may then be regarded as a part of the homeostatic process. Finally it is important to note that sometimes equilibrium is restored through a re-organisation of the way in which we regard the world. Thus, for example, in psycho-therapy a patient is cured by re-structuring his thought processes in course of which the patient learns to look upon his world in a new light or to accept a new set of goals for his guidance in life.

From the above it should appear that the process of homeostasis admits of different grades and levels. The organism, as we have seen, may restore its equilibrium by internal physiological adjustment, or by overt behaviour, or specially in human beings by reorganisation of thoughts and ideals. We may designate these levels as physiological, psychological and spiritual respectively. Now, Yoga as a spiritual pursuit may be fitly described as a kind of spiritual homeostasis, a master-device for the attainment of spiritual tranquility. This does not, however, mean that it has no effect on the body and the mind. In fact, a calmness of the spirit can by no means be achieved without a corresponding composure of the bodily and mental functions The practice of Yoga brings about a transformation of the body and the mind by a progressive elimination or reduction of the noxious stimuli which ordinarily excite and disturb them

The science of Yoga prescribes a set of techniques for the achievement of the desired end. As there are various schools of Yoga the technique varies from school to school. In the practice of *Hatha Yoga* the emphasis lies on the bodily postures and some physical exercises. *In Laya Yoga* the adept attempts to dissolve the mental organ into its primal source by a skilful manipulation of the vital energy. In *Mantra Yoga* the same effect is sought to be realised by a constant repetition of a *mantra* along with the meditation on the deity which it signifies. *Raja Yoga* which is known as the prince of all Yoga systems, prescribes eightfold means for reaching the same goal. Yoga in any of its forms is a perfectly intelligible science based on verifiable laws of the body and the mind. Its various techniques may be fruitfully applied for attaining mental peace and spirtual felicity. Even a little that one may do by way of practising it is sure to yield some dividend.

That Yoga is a homeostatic device designed to attain pacification of mind and body might be evident from the opening *Sūtras* of the work of Patañjali. In the second *Sūtra* the author defines Yoga as suppression of all mental fluctuations. The mind, as we know, is constantly exposed to a variety of stimuli, both internal and external. These stimuli, acting through the various sense-organs, cause an incessant series of changes or fluctuations in the mind. In the language of Yoga philosophy they are called *citta-vṛtti*. These fluctuations, whether pleasing or painful, invariably create a mental tension or excitement, whieh disturbs the equilibrium of the mind. Our natural attachment to pleasure and aversion towards pain are the root causes of the tension, As. however, tenslon in any form is essentially oppressing, our so-called pleasures are but pains in disguise. Hence the need of suppression or extinction of all fluctuations of the mind. When this is done the mind becomes placid and the inner self or spirit shines forth, as it were, in-itself. This is what a philosopher means by self-realisation. We might call it the spirit's "standing as it is" or "standing the same", which, as already stated, is the literal meaning of homeostasis.

The eightfold means involved in the technique of Raja-Yoga may be conveniently divided into two groups, viz. the outer means and the inner means. The first group comprises five means, viz : (1) *Yama*, (9), *Niyama*, (3) *Āsana* (4) *Prāṇāyāma* and (5) *Pratyāhāra* The second group consists of the three means (1) *Dhāraṇā* (2) *Dhyāna* and (3) *Samādhi*. The final state of self-realisation is attained by the the practice of the inner means of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* *samādhi*. The outer means are intended to prepare the soil by pacification of the body, purification of the mind and development of the power of concentration. Of these *Yama* and *Niyama* are purificatoiy measures the cultivation of which would steadily pacify the mind and create an attitude proper to Yoga. Amongst others they include the virtues of non-violence, truthfulness, self-restraint cleanliness and devotion to God. In this connection, emphasis has been laid on the regulation of diet. Any food which produces too much heat, or disturbs the balance of the humours, is an obstacle to the power of concentration, and should, therefore, be avoided.

The practice of *āsana* or seating posture is necessary for health as well as mental concentration. It is important for the practice of Yoga as it enables, the Yogi to remain steady in one position for as long as necessary. It also facilitates easy breathing, proper circulation of blood and glandular secretion as required by the system.

Prāṇāyama or breath-control is the step which comes next. Literally it means the control of *prāṇa* or vital functions. Ordinarily *prāṇa* is supposed to be identical with air or breath. But in fact it is much finer than manifest breath. Breath or air, as we know it, is only a gross external manifestation of *prāṇa*. According to the science of Yoga it is the very principle of life, a force or energy which keeps the parts of the living body together and enables them duly to discharge all their functions. "*Prāṇo vai*. *aṅgānāṃ rasaḥ*",—*prāṇa* is the sustaining lymph of the organs of the body, says the Upanishad. The mind or *citta* is itself a vibration of the principle of prana, "*prāṇa-parispanda*" as Yoga-vasistha Ramayana puts it.

Much has been written in Yoga literature on the effects of *prāṇāyāma*. It is a physical exercise which, if rightly practised, is sure to bring about a spiritual transporation. Physiologically it is a method by which the blood-stream is de-carbonised and re-charged with oxygen. The surplus of Oxygen thus inhaled goes to rejuvenate the brain and the important spinal centres. The importance of *prāṇāyāma* from the physiologicol point of view cannot be over-estimated. The attention of physicians and physiologists has recently been focussed on this aspect of *prāṇāyāma* and its healing power has been universally recognised.

From the point of view which we have been developing in this papaer, *prāṇāyāma* may be aptly described as a great tranquiliser of the mind. We have already said that mind and breath are but two aspects of the same vital energy. Experiment confirms that there is a close relation between the rate of respiration and fluctuation of attention. The rhythms of breathing closely correspond to the rythms of our mental states. When the mind is restless or excited the breath is quick and irregular. Quiet contemplation, on the other hand, is matched with a series of smooth and regular breathing. As mind and breath are so inter-relatcd that one has only to regulate one's breath in order to produce a corresponding effecct on the mind. Stilling of the breath tends to still the mind. Some schools of Yoga, therefore, regard *prāṇāyāma* as a sufficient means for attaining the desired end.

A few words will sufflce to describe the homeostatic effect of *pratyāhāra*; the fifth outer means of Yoga. *Pratyāhāra* consists in withdrawal of the senses from their respective objects. Attachment to sense-objects is the prime factor which distracts the mind and disturbs the tranquility of consciousness. *Pratyāhāra* relaxes the bond that ties the senses to worldly objects and thereby helps to restore the inner equanimity.

After having acquired a fair degree of mastery over hls breath and the sense-organs, the adept should next turn his attention inwards with a view to attaining the different grades of Yogic experience. Now his journey consists in a gradual inwardisation of consciousness and his progress lies in the practice of *dhāraṇā*, *dhyāna* and *Samādhi*, the inner group of excercises. Cultivation of the outer means of Yoga, we have seen, develops in the adept a spirit of detachment from the attraction of the worldly objects (vairāgya). But the seeds of such attraction may still persist in the mind in the form of subtle impression or dispositions. These tendencies accumulated over a beginningless chain of previous lives are a potential source of danger to the equanimity of the mind. They are to be destroyed by the exercise of *dhāraṇā* or concentration and *dhyāna* or meditation. Prolonged concentration and meditation create a new type of disposition in the mind which gradually eliminates the impressions left behind by worldly experience. The mind is thus purged or emptied of all possible factors likely to disturb its inner composure (*praśānta-vāhitā*). Dhyāna or meditation in due course ripens into absorption or *samādhi*, a state in which the adept rises above the ordinary dualism of subject and object. In the beginning one has to keep something before the mind and concentrate or mediate on that object. Through this practice the fragmented mind becomes recollected and one-pointed. As the one-pointed mind becomes completely absorbed in the object of its contemplation it realises the state of *Samādhi*. As the adept advances in the practice of *Samādhi* he may totally dispense with the objective element, and in that final state of absorption conciousness remains in itself. This is what we have sought to describe as spiritual homeostasis, the spirits' return to itself. This is Yoga par exeellence.

REPORT ON ORHIBA, A MODERN INDONESIAN CONCEPT OF YOGA

DR. HARYATI SOEBADIO

Orhiba, with the modern Indonesian taste for acronyms, stands for *Olah Raga Hidup Baru*, "New Life Gymnastics" (1). It is a kind of physical exercise with strong bygienic purpose founded on a basis of Javanese mystical conceptions, but certainly influenced by *Haṭhayoga* ideas, as I propose to show below. Although quite recently started and only brought into Djakarta since 1968, it has spread rapidly and can now boast of a following of thousands of members, scattered all over Indonesia, but for the main part living in Java (with Djakarta as its headquarters) and Bali. The movement to use the term here for convenience, though the founder himself does not agree with the qualification, is constantly spreading with amazing speed. At the moment it is considered the third most conspicuous (2) mystical movement in Indonesia, the others being *Subud* and *Pangestu*.

Subud has gained an international adherence of several years standing, as witnessed by its last congress held in August 1971 at its Djakarta Head Office, which was attended by members from all over the world (3).

Pangestu seems so far to have remainned strictly Indonesian, and possibly even almost exclusively Javanese, with members who for the largest part originate from the Javanese upper and intellectual classes.

Orhiba, the latest of the three, seems to be well on its way to gain substantial international support (4).

To estimate a mystical movement properly, we have naturally to consider its cultural background. In Indonesia, probably more than anywhere else, this means taking into account the cultural

background of its founder along with the possible influence he has had. Spiritually *Subud*, *Pangestu* and *Orhiba* are akin in that their cultural background is the same, Javanese. The founders of these mevements are of traditional Javanese extraction (5), which means that their religious views are basically *kebatinan* mysticism, and more exactly for at least two of them, the *kebatinan* of the *priyayi* or Javanese upper class. *Kebatinan* is the generic name given to the mystical movements which originate from Central Java. In fact, it is the Javanese religion (6). It is the background of every traditionally reared Javanese from whatever social level or surroundings, though social and cultural surroundings do as a matter of fact influence the colour of the *kebatinan*.

Thus we find more or less Islam influenced (7) *kebatinan* groups next to *kebatinan* associations which have to be considered pre-Islamic or Hindu-Javanese and animistic of origin (8). The latter are sometimes called by the generic name of kedjawen ("javanism") (9). The ultimate goal aimed at by *kebatinan* is spiritual harmony, containing an absolute equanimity in the emotional sphere (10). As to the ways by which to reach this goal it depends on the socio-cultural and religious background of the movements itself. In the *kebatinan* circles of the *priyayi* class, for instance, which aim at reaching the intellectual groups, it is usually stressed that the mystical teachings of the movements involved will in no way interfere with the religious scruples of its members and prospective members. The mystical object can be attained by ways consistent with whatever religion or belief is adhered to by its members. For the best way to reach this object is by contemplation of the inner life (11) and this does not depend on a specific religion or belief. Indeed, spiritual leaders of *priyayi kebatinan* extraction tend to quote freely from the great religions and philosophical systems of the world (12).

It is from this spiritual atmosphere that the above mentioned movements originate (13). However, *Orhiba* stands apart from both *Subud* and *Pangestu*—and from most *kebatinan* movements for that matter—in that it adds and emphasizes the importance of the physical side of human development. Without a harmonious development of the body, *Orhiba* views consider it impossible to develop the mind truly as well. For "Body and mind are inseparable and of equal importance for keeping perfect balance between the physical and mental aspect of man" (14). As such *Orhiba* has also been able to gain support and recognition among people who generally do not respond to purely mystical movements, as, for instance, the younger generation of the university educated.

I propose now to look into *orhiba's* history and subject-matter more closely. The founder of *orhiba* as the successful movement at the moment, is Mr. Said Sukanto Tjokrodiatmodjo former head of the Indonesian Police, from which he retired in 1959. Mr. Sukanto is a native from Central Java and of *priyayi* birth. As such he runs true to type, for, although confessing Islam (15) his outlook on life conforms certainly more with the views traditionally held by this class. In fact, Mr Sukanto told me that since the age of ten he had listened to the *kebatinan* mystical views his father was fond of telling him about, and that he had found these views far more comforting for his peace of mind than the catechism of Islam he received at the same time from a religious teacher engaged to instruct him by his parents. This situation, that a child receives Islamic religious teaching, while at the same time he is exposed to *kebatinan* as well.

He joined Freemasonry and Amorc (Ancient Mystical Order Rosae Crucis) (16) and he attained the level of Grandmaster (17). However, the basis of *kabatinan* has proved strongest and should be considered as of direct influence on his ultimate choice of *Orhiba* as a way of life, as we shall see below. One of the pillars of *kebatinan* is, for example, the concept of *batin* (inner life) and *lahir* (roughly : the outward) (18), which have to be brought into balance to reach the desired spiritual harmony. As *batin* and *lahir* refer popularly also to mind versus body, it is not surprising that the harmony as the final object of *kebatinan* is more often understood as the bringing into harmonious balance of mind and body. In any case, so it was understood by Mr. Sukanto(19). Not surprisingly also this brought him into contact with Yoga. In 1953, when still Head of the Police, he joined a movement called *The Divine Life Society*, where he learned to appreciate the *yoga*-way of life enough to introduce it into the Police Force. However, it was not until 1955/1956 that he could secure the assistence of a qualified Yoga teacher from India. For this he had to go himself to India (20), where he found Professor Vishnu Devanand from Rishikesh willlng to teach members of the Indonesian Police who were interested in Yoga training. In the end, however, Mr. Sukanto could not remain satisfied with the Yoga way of life. He said that, after all, he had to consider *kebatinan* and Indian Hinduism to be too far apart for a Javanese to be able to feel content for long with the Indian views. It is possible that the comparative strenuosity required for the Yoga exercises or the prescribed food and other restrictions discouraged him in the end. For, as we shall see below, *Orhiba* exercises are not exhausting even to elderly or sickly people, due

to their easy adaptibility to different age groups and degrees of health. Also, there are no food restrictions involved (21). This is complete in accordance with the views of the average traditionally reared Javanese, who as a regis tered Moslem nonetheless seldom follows the restrictions on, for instance, pork. Mr. Sukanto is no exception.

In 1957 he went to Central Java on holiday and it was then that, according to his own words, he "found *Orhiba*". As a matter of fact, he came across a certain holy man of "humble origin" whose name he feels not free to reveal and who related to him the *Orhiba* conceptions, which, he said, had been conceived around 1941, but had at the time only been known to a very small group of people in the country. It was then called *Olah Raga Sempurna* (Perfect Gymnastics), and it was disseminated through personal contacts only. Mr. Sukanto made the acquaintance of that certain holy man, who was either the conceptor or already an adherent, and who revealed to him the *Orhiba* teaching and physical exercises, not, he said, in the usual way of person to person instruction, but by way of "intuition". It took him three years to understand its implications and to realize its possibilities in the *kebatinan* sphere. In 1960 he considered himself ready to disseminate the teaching. By then he had retired from the Police Force. He started with members of his family and close friends. In 1961 the *Lembaga Pembantu Pembangunan Djiwa* ("Institute to assis t in the building of the Soul") was founded and it held its first congress in Djokja, Central Java (22). Mr. Sukanto took the opportunity to speak about *Orhiba* with no apparent success. The *Lembaga* proved moreover to be shortlived for want of a proper budget, and friends suggested afterwards to found a special association for *Orhiba*. It was not until 1963 (23) that this association was actually founded in Malang, East Java, and quite officially so, by deed. However, the movement was virtually unknown outside the small circle of enthusiasts and remained so for years. In the light of its present popularity this may seem strange. A fact is that at the time President Sukarno was not favourably disposed towards mystical movements in general. In 1961 he outlawed all mystical associations of foreign origin, including both Freemasonry and Amorc, whereas of the local movements he was known to have spoken derisively and even vituperatively on more than one occasion (24). Moreover, the founder of *Orhiba*, Mr. Sukanto himself, had completely fallen out of favour with the President. Although never officially admitted, it was an open secret that Mr. Sukanto's retirement from the Police Force was largely due to a serious disagreement between him and the President. But, whatever the reasons, it was not thought

advisable to push *Orhiba's* cause in Djakarta or West Java in general yet. The movement won considerable following in East Java and Bali, however, and it resulted in the founding cf a Bali branch in 1966,, likewise by deed. At the same time a few members of the movement tried to start propagating the *Orhiba* exercises in Djakarta. They did at first not meet with success. "As a matter of fact," Mr. Sukanto said, "they were frankly ridiculed every where" (25). But after a while reports came in from Central and East Java about miraculous healings caused by *Orhiba* gymnastics. It was said that it had cured several severe cases of asthma, and it was even rumoured that someone in Malang had been cured from a cancer tumor after having performed the *Orhiba* exercises for only a few months. Mr. Sukanto was approached by many people, healthy as well as ailing, who had heard about these healings, and they asked him to give talks on *Orhiba* and demonstrate its exercises. This happened in 1968, and since then propaganda for *Orhiba* has been taken out of his hands (26). People flock to his house in Djakarta, he is asked to give talks everywhere and *Orhiba* instructions are given all over Djakarta by an ever increasing number of instructors who also propagate the *Orhiba* mystical views as they go along. In 1970 the *Orhiba* Head Office was officially moved from Malang to Djakarta, as usual, by deed. It should be observed here that the official deed does not in the least mean that the association is a normal foundation entitled to receive periodical contribution in money from its members as laid down in a formal constitution. In fact, the official deed is usually seen as a political precaution in order not to be accused of subversive or otherwise illegal intentions (27). No member of *Orhiba* is therefore required to pay a contribution. Gifts are, however, welcomed. But as a spiritual association *Orhiba* thinks it improper to impose a regular contribution in money upon its members. This policy is nothing unusual for a mystical association to take in Indonesia. Naturally it results more often than not in near bankruptcy for the association involved and this will hamper its development severely. In the case of *Orhiba* the problem does at the moment not arise. Its wealthier members are only too eager to assist in its budget and take propaganda into their hands. Already television is started to be used for *Orhiba* advertisement and propaganda, whereas periodically a propaganda evening is organized to which members and their guests are invited (28).

In sofar as *Orhiba* gymnastics are considered inseparably connected with its mystical views, it should be considered a kind of *Yoga*. However, the movement behaves rather ambiguously in the

matter. On one hand, both in personal interviews and in talks held in public, Mr. Sukanto never leaves off emphasizing that unless one follows the *Orhiba* way of life completely, which means unquestionable submission to teaching, the exercises will have no effect different from any other kind of gymnastics or plain bodily exercise. It follows that miraculous healings can only be expected in cases of complete faith (29). It is therefore compulsive to subscribe fully to the *Orhiba* conceptions in order to attain the desired results of good health. On the other hand, as *Orhiba* obviously, and indeed most conspicuously, aims at gaining a following as large as possible, unbelievers who only want to join the physical training for the sake of mere exercise, are encouraged to do so (30). Moreover, people subscribing to other *kebatinan* teachings are equally welcomed. I know of several instances in which *Subud*, *Pangestu* and members of other *kebatinan* movements (31) joined *Orhiba* training groups. But "It does not matter," Mr. Sukanto assured me when asked his opinion, "*Orhiba's* object is in the first place to make people healthier, for then they can do whatever they want to do better. Besides, our principles do not clash with the teachings of any religion or belief." On the side of the members of these other *kebatinan* groups no qualms seem to exist either in joining the *Orhiba* training courses. It demonstrates in fact the basic similarity of most *kebatinan* teachings, or can be considered, incidentally, as being quite in accordance with the traditional Javanese attitude to different mystical teachings since olden times (32).

Orhiba gymnastics consists of 24 exercises which are notably light. The reason is stated : the exercises are meant to suit ' men and women, young or old, whether strong or weak, well or ailing" (33), whereas the intention is obvious : to encourage both the healthy and the ailing to join the training. The point lies in the frequency and speed with which the exercises have to be executed. Herein the adaptation to different age groups and degrees of agility or condition of the body is made clear. Ideally each of the 24 exercises should be performed 24 times in the highest possible speed, which amounts to a total of no more than 15 minutes for the whole (34). But, beginners and the less healthy or agile are advised to proceed gradually, starting with the frequency and speed best suited and increasing both according to their own ability. There is also one special preliminary exercise meant for those who through ill health are not able to join the regular exercises (35). It is considered of no consequence how long it will take before one attains the

required frequency and speed, as long as the exercises are performed daily without interruption. Irregular performance is thought unwise (36). *Orhiba's* claim to possess healing powers is clearly indicated(37) and is always openly declared at the propaganda meetings (38). In this it already resembles popular *Haṭhayoga*, but we shall see more evidence of a certain similarity in feeling below.

The *Orhiba* exercises are all to be performed in standing position as this is seen as "the most characteristic posture of the human body" (39), and are directed at stimulating the entire body from head to foot in a series of simple movements which have to be executed rhythmically. Every movement to stimulate one particular part of the body, as, for instance, the muscles of the shoulders, of the neck, the diafragma, the muscles of the stomach which are considered to influence the internal organs as well, and so on. Because the movements are simple, great stress is laid on frequent repeating. As such it is obvious that the exercises themselves are as unlike those of *Haṭhayoga* as can be. However, very much like *Haṭhayoga*, *Orhiba* stresses the importance of correct breathing, as will be discussed below. Nothing can be said of the provenance of the *Orhiba* exercises, as we do not know who the actual conceptor was. Mr. Sukanto declines emphatically all responsibility, but is at the same time not inclined to disclose the name of the person who should be considered as responsible. Thus the view popularly held in non-*Orhiba* circles that the exercises would have been conceived on the pattern of the Japanese *taiso* (40) cannot be proved either way. With regard to the therapeutic and otherwise miraculous claims (41) of *Orhiba*, it is just as the "wild and unverified claims" of Yoga about which K. T. Behanan (42) wrote. Despite the effusions of personal experiences which seem to have become part of the Orhiba propaganda meetings, no one has as yet been able to come forth with sufficient scientific documentation of his or her process of recovering (43). Considering the psychological appeal *kebatinan* teachings in general have, and thus also *Orhiba* must have, the miraculous healings should be understood as to have taken place in cases of imaginary or at best psychosomatic disturbances. However, unlike some Yoga experts (44), most *Orhiba* enthusiasts are not reconciled to the idea that their exercises have been successful only in curing psychosomatic cases.

Nonetheless, as a system of physical practice *Orhiba* has undeniably succeeded. Its exercises, though simple, are certainly sound and have proved successful in inducing a high degree of relaxation. Moreover, by the very simpleness of its exercises *Orhiba* has managed to attract the people who most needed exercise, but

who would have been discouraged by more strenuous training, as are the physically weak and elderly. In this *Orhiba* has proved to be more appealing to Indonesians in general than *Haṭhayoga.* When Mr. Sukanto introduced Yoga into the Police Force in 1953, he in fact introduced it also to a larger part of Indonesians. Many people, among whom some I personally know, were at the time sufficiently attracted to start taking Yoga lessons and sustaining seriously for years. But most of them have by now ceased to train at all. They admitted to have found the Yoga exercises much too exhausting as they became older. Quite a few among these former Yoga enthusiasts have as a matter of fact now switched to *Orhiba* exercises, which, I am persuaded, they have found a most convenient compromise of Yoga (45). As Mr. Sukanto saw it : "*Haṭhayoga* is all right for the young and healthy, but evidently it puts others off. *Orhiba* on the other hand considers that part of society which would benefit most by regular exercise, but who do not possess the strength and energy to do more than a daily half hour or so of simple movements. It seems we have given them what they needed."

Nevertheless, if it was only plain physical exercise *Orhiba* offered its members, I doubt whether its popularity would have been as great as it is at the moments. We must certainly take into account the psychological power mystical movements generally have over Indonesians. Without a background of mysticism people would have had no faith in the beneficial effects of *Orhiba* exercises, however sensible they may be. And *Orhiba* would not likely have managed to attract the older and less healthy people for whom plain bodily exercise without the magical promise of mystical healing would not have been appealing at all. It is thus not really possible to estimate *Orhiba's* influence outside its mystical context.

And what, in fact, is this mystical context ? There is no literature published on the subject except a short manual for the physical exercises, which has seen several editions, and a very cursory introduction of Mr. Sukanto's own hand (46). We have thus to rely on his personal explanations, for it will be clear that he has to be considered as responsible for these views, or, in any case, for its interpretation. Entirely in agreement with his birth and background, the atmosphere of his conceptions is basically *kebatinan's.* Spiritual harmony, which means a harmonious balancing of opposite concepts and feelings, leading to a complete equanimity of emotions, is the ultimate goal he aims at (47). By complete equanimity of emotions he means absolute composure or

evenness of mind in coping with life's donations of luck and unluck. Next to this he stresses the importance of living correctly, which means behaving correctly towards all living beings, but in the first place to one's fellow-men (48). It is obvious that this approach is mainly psychological, which is, incidentally, *kebatinan's* main characteristic (49). To this Mr. Sukanto adds the conception that man consists of three compounds : soul, mind and body (50), and it is these compounds which should be brought into perfect balance in order to attain the above mentioned state of mind.

What he means by "soul" is the "life giving force", which can be given different names, "anything you want," as he said to me, "like *prāṇa*, breath of life and so on." To him it amounts all to one and the same thing : the substance by which man has come to life or was given life. "Is it not said in Islam," he added whimsically, "that God gave life to man by breathing into his mouth ? This substance would certainly have been *prāṇa*."

The life giving force is daily inhaled, for it is acquired by way of man's breathing. Only by perfect breathing can man partake of the life giving force and thus keep body and mind healthy. By breathing the used energy is refreshed. Moreover, by perfect breathing the life energy is stored up and this will restore declining bodily cells and rebuild its strength. It is also this stored up energy which has therapeutic value.

It is interesting to compare Mr. Sukanto's views on the life giving force with what S. Yesudian (51) writes about *prāṇa*, which he also calls "life force" :

"*Prāṇa* flows through our body as a result of our breathing. If our breathing is in any way deficient, the manifestation of life, or of the life force, also remains deficient *Prāṇa* manifests itself in the body in the form of health, thought, speech and action. Deficient breathing is always accompanied by unbalanced thoughts and actions of a chaotic undisciplined and restless nature. The results of this disorder are the bodily disturbances which we know as illnesses."

We may consider it the first noticeable parallel with *Haṭhayoga*. On account of the stress on this life giving force, *Orhiba* also emphatically underlines the importance of correct breathing. During the whole performance breathing should be executed through the mouth, for only by mouth breathing are the lungs considered to be filled or emptied completely. This breathing should be done audibly

to give it more force. In fact, the resounding breathing is the one feature which attracts attention at *Orihba* performances (51a). At the last exercise, at which the breath after deep inhaling is held back for considerable time, exhalation comes with some performers in the end like a pistolshot. Once the right technique of breathing is acquired, concentration should be centred on exhaling which is seen as the release of used and therefore useless energy that will only injure the body if not properly discharged. A perfectly functioning body will be able to obtain the exact amount of life giving force it needs through all its pores (52), while inhaling will by then be done automatically in the right way.

"Mind" consists of man's thinking faculties as an individual being. It is that which gives him the right, but also the obligation, to think for himself. But mind should never be considered apart from its close connection with the body. For unless the body is equally healthy, the mind cannot remain truly healthy and well functioning. As Mr. Sukanto explained. "Most mystical teachings are only concerned with man's spiritual health, whereas the body as the vehicle of this spiritual side is always neglected. *Orhiba*, however, considers the body as of no less importance than the mind." Therefore *Orhiba* teaches that the body should not only be kept in perfect condition, but also be duly venerated (53). In *Orhiba* views the body is never to be considered as mere dust. On the contrary, it is always emphasized that the body is a divine creation (54) and should therefore be loved and accordingly revered. Before starting with the actual exercises, first a short ritual of caressing the own body and thanking God for its creation is performed (55). An objection has been made as to the pagan character of a ritual like this. Mr. Sukanto's ready retort to it was : "If one loves the Creator, one should love his creations also"(56). Starvation of the flesh is naturally repulsive to *Orhiba* thinking. Indeed, *Orhiba*'s object is to cultivate a "humble and respectful attitude .... towards..... (the) body as part of the great and indivisible whole", for such an attitude is expected to evoke "a natural sense of love and consideration towards human beings"(57).

Life in the hereafter is not of *Orhiba's* concern, as indeed it seldom is in *kebatinan* thinking (58). Thus it is not clear what its views are in connection with the body and the soul as the life giving force after death. Mr. Sukanto's comment on this question was characteristically *kebatinan's* :

"*Orhiba* is not another religion. It is a way of life. What *Orhiba* members think about death is really up to their own religion or belief."

The point is thus sufficiently made that *Orhiba's* main object is adjustment to life's ups and downs in this world only, where it is moreover believed that the healthy man can do better than his ailing fellow.

We have seen that Mr. Sukanto's concept of the life giving force—which he moreover did not hesitate to call *prāṇa*—comes very near to the *Haṭhayoga* conception as quoted above. *Orhiba's* emphasis on right breathing would therefore seem to be parallel also to the *Haṭhayoga* view.

There is, however, yet another concept put forward by Mr. Sukanto, which should be considered as an even clearer instance of *Haṭhayoga* influence One of the *Orhiba* exercises, the second before the last in the series, is concerned with the movements of the spine, which should be alternately stretched and relaxed. Of this exercise Mr. Sukanto says :

> "Be sure you stretch your spine vigorously. You should feel the tension go up sharply into your head. Actually, what you really do is releasing the *hidden energy* that is *residing down at the base of the spine*. By stretching the spine forcefully this energy will *move upwards* into your head. The Sanskrit name of this energy is *kuṇḍalinī*, but a Javanese name exists also : *naga gěni*."

To my knowledge the term *naga gěni*, "fire serpent" (59), is in *kebatinan* context used in the sense of "passion", more often "evil passion" which should be conquered before one can consider trying to reach spiritual harmony. But Mr. Sukanto said that he uses the term in the sense of "man's hidden power" which resides, when at rest, coiled in the tailbone. "It is not without reason that the tailbone is called sacred in many languages," he added. "Just think of the Dutch *heiligbeen* or the English *holy bone*" (60).

As to the term *kuṇḍalinī*, it is not unknown in Indonesia. It is in fact found in Old Javanese philosophical literature (61), but not in the usual Tantric or *Haṭhayoga* Sanskrit sense of "serpent power". In some texts (62) it is explained as being "a perennial drink". It is moreover usually found in the combination *amṛta kuṇḍalinī* (63), whereas it is not sure whether the presence of the term *amṛta* here should be explained as being the cause or the result of the concept of *kuṇḍalinī* as "a perennial drink".

We may, I believe, fairly conclude that Mr. Sukanto has blended the *kebatinan* concept of *naga gěni* (for passion is also a power or energy) with the *Haṭhayoga* teaching of *kuṇḍalinī*. The

Yoga method to release *kuṇḍalinī*, however, he has not adopted, for we have seen that no meditation is involved in *Orhiba* practice.

We should now proceed to consider the following items :

Orhiba	*Haṭhayoga*
1. *Orhiba's* exercises are meant for "men and women, young or old, whether strong or weak, well or ailing" (64), whereas children are not excluded either (65).	*Haṭhayoga* is beneficial to "children, adults and the aged, for the well and the ill, for the poor and the rich' (66).
2. The object of *Orhiba* exercises is to return to man his "Basic Right of Life", which means the re-establishment of the "Basic Power of Life" or "Basic Physical Vigour" (67), and thus free him from every kind of illness (68).	*Haṭhayoga's* object is to re-establish the "primordial rules of living concerning the human animal", which means giving back to man the bodily condition which would cause him to become as healthy and vigorous as his "inferior brothers" to whom "illness is an exceptional case" (69).
3. *Orhiba* considers its exercises as completely in accordance to or in harmony with Nature (70).	*Haṭhayoga's* fundamental principle is "to live in conformity with Nature" (71).
4. *Orhiba* aims at building up man's physical condition and bringing forth a harmonious union of man and the tripartite universe of body, mind and soul (72).	*Haṭhayoga* pursues the harmonious union of man's physiological functions and their corresponding organs, and also the harmonious union of this physiological life within his natural environment (73).
5. *Orhiba* stresses that its exercises lead not only to physical perfection, but also to mental happiness (74), for only when the body is healthy, can the mind develop equally well (75).	*Haṭhayoga* emphasizes that its training leads not only to a perfect physical condition which is "the key to good health", but also "to that perfect moral balance which is called happiness" (76).

Orhiba	Haṭhayoga
6. The basic rule before starting to perform the *Orhiba* exercises is to stand erect, completely motionless and at the same time to be mentally perfectly at ease (77).	One of the principal rules of Yoga in general is to be able to remain perfectly motionless and refrain from being restless in any way (78).
7. Every movement of *Orhiba* gymnastics should be performed consciously by concentrating fully on that part of the body that is being moved. Consistent training is expected to lead to consciousness of the body's movements(79).	*Haṭhayoga* adopts, by means of frequent training and sustained attention "succeeded in perceiving...the particular pulse of each organ"(80).
8. The object of *Orhiba's* breathing exercises is to obtain the "Life Force" as much as possible out of the air. This "Life Force" is essential in revitalizing every cell of the body, and this will keep the healthy body in condition and cause the ailing one to become healthy and vigorous again (81).	The breathing exercises of *Haṭhayoga* (*prāṇāyāma*) have the following objects : (a) to cultivative the habitual observance of correct breathing which is essential to the body's health ; (b) to cause a kind of medical treatment which is expected to have a beneficial effect on both body and mind(82).
9. Although nowhere explicitly mentioned in the *Orhiba* manual, the constant referring to "revitalizing forces" which influence the body's condition clearly points to an expectation of being able to preserve youth and thus prolong life (83).	*Haṭhayoga* literature openly declares that its consistent training does influence the preservation of a youthful body and thus will be able to prolong life(84).

	Orhiba	*Haṭhayoga*
10.	Once one has started performing the *Orhiba* exercises and has regained one's health, it is of the greatest importance to continue consistently and in the prescribed way. Irregularity or wrong appliance will cause relapse into former illnesses or other disturbances (85).	"By proper practice of *prāṇāyāma*, etc., there comes the fading away of all diseases ; by adherence to wrong practice there is the arising of all diseases----"(86).

The parallels mentioned above demonstrate sufficiently that the *Orhiba* views on its physical exercises are comparable with the *Haṭhayoga* concepts, but show likewise clearly that the conceptions can only be compared with the popular *Haṭhayoga* teaching that accompanies its physical training. *Orhiba's* spiritual concepts in view of its exercises do in no way compare with the more philosophical aspects of Yoga conceptions. The reason of it is obviously not only because *Orhiba* thinking is systematically less well organized, but because the ultimate objects differ in principle.

Orhiba practice, as we have seen, aims at cultivating or achieving health, because a healthy body is considered as a *conditio sine qua non* for the healthy developing of the mind as well. A healthy mind supported by a healthy body, that can cope composedly with life's ups and downs is the right means to attain that spiritual balance which is *Orhiba's* ultimate object. By this *Orhiba* has proved to have remained on the psychological level of *kebatinan*. It has, in other words, remained a way of life and it is not a philosophical system which attempts to find answers to questions pertaining to other possibilities of life in other conditions. As such *Orhiba* has also remained on the level of *Haṭhayoga* as it is "limited to the plane of physical nature" (87) and therefore we cannot compare it with the Yoga that aims at union with the Absolute. In fact, despite the occasional use of Sanskrit philosophical terms, as we have seen above, Mr. Sukanto gave no evidence of his being at all acquainted with Indian philosophical literature in general and Yoga philosophical treatises in particular. His past training of Yoga has obviously not exceeded the practical course and, as far as

literature is concerned, *Haṭhayoga* popular manuals. To him Yoga means *Haṭhayoga.* It is therefore equally evident that he has no knowledge of the Old Javanese literature on Hindu-Javanese Yoga conceptions as propounded in, for instance, the *tuturs* (88). It is, for example, clearly shown in the fact that his views on the importance of breathing are only related to the physical well-being of the performer and have no relation whatsoever with Old Javanese Yogic rituals of union with the Absolute during life and when dying (89). The audible breathing has no other object than the forceful emptying and refilling of the lungs. No sacred syllable is pronounced. Indeed, it is for many members the principal reason of *Orhiba's* attraction, that it is easily adaptable to their own religious beliefs, because "no pronouncing of *mantras* and the like"(90) is involved. And, although Mr. Sukanto very often visits Bali on account of the *orhiba* activities in that place, he is not aware of, or possibly does not care, about, the modern reliving of ancient Yoga practice and other rituals as propagated by some Hindu-Balinese groups (91).

On this basis, and in addition to the use of terms like *prāṇa* and *kuṇḍalinī* the above mentioned parallels with *Haṭhayoga* teachings would seem to conform too strikingly to be disposed of as mere coincidence.

We may therefore reasonably conclude that *Orhiba* teaching has developed on the basis of *kebatinan* beliefs as far as it is concerned with a method to attain spiritual balance with a view to adjustment to life, whereas regarding the way it presents its physical exercises as a means to apply this method, it is greatly in sympathy with popular *Haṭhayoga* concepts.

Notes

1. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, title page.

2. It does not imply that the movements are necessarily also the largest, as their renown is due to the fact that their members originate from the educated classes. It is most probable that there are other movements with numerically a larger adherence, in the country, but of which nothing is known.

3. Both in Djakarta and in Bali I met with young foreigners who had come to attend this conference. It is interesting to note that foreign members receive Indonesian names at their initiation. The young people I met in Djakarta. and among whom were students temporarily registred at the Universty of Indonesia, were called Ridwan, Mohamad, Siti and the like, whereas the young Australian in Bali, who was staying with friends of mine, was called Mursalin.

4. Mr. Said Sukanto Tajkrodiatmodjo, *Orhiba's* leader, succeeded in gaining followers in Canada, when he was delivering a paper on *Orhiba* at the Amorc Conference in 1970 (published as Sukanto, 1971). The Djakarta branch has been successful in winning adherence among members of foreign legations and business offices. One of the more noticeable *Orhiba* performers is, for instance, Mrs. Galbraith, wife of the Ambassador of the USA. Personally I met with some foreign performers at Mrs. Suprapto's training classes. Mrs Suprap o is the widow of General Suprapto who was murdered in 1955 at the 30 September coup. It should be observed that the foreign performers do not, usually, subscribe to *Orhiba* mysticism.

5. The name of *Subud's* founder is Mohamad Subuh Sumoticai-widjojo, shortened to *Subuh*, only which part, I suspect, is not a real name, but should probably be considered as a mystical initiation name in the *Subud* tradition (see note (3). Mr. Subuh does not like *Subuh* to be classified as a *kebatinan* movement, as he said that it is too firmly based on Islam. But there are many *kebatinan* groups based on Islam, as we shall see below. The leader of *Pangestu* is the late Professor Dr. Sumantri Hardjoprakoso (see Hardjoprakoso, 1956), a psychiatrist of standing and former Indonesian representative at the Seames Head Office, Bangkok The founder of *Orhiba* is Mr. Sukanto (see note (4), of whom we shall hear more below.

6. See a. o. *Agami Djawi* ("Javanese Religion"), a treatise on *kebatinan*, dating from the last century, of which a 1907 MS is listed in Pigeaud, 1967-1970, II, p. 392. Geertz, 1960, though evidently not acquainted with treatises of this kind, saw sufficient evidence of the phenomenon to style his book "*The Religion of Java*". It should be observed that Geertz nowhere uses the term *kebatinan*, although it is the common name used by Indonesians themselves, both in speech and in writing. For *agama djawa*, see also Muskens, 1969, pp. 63-82.

Other *kebatinan* sources are, for instance, Seno-Sastroamidjojo (see Literature) and the journals and brochures of the various *kebatinan* associations.

7. The Ministry of Religion, Djakarta, provides a list of the most important and officially registered *kebatinan* associations. The kind of religious background of the association is very often already indicated by their names. Some examples of Islam based on *kebatinan* groups are : *Risalah Tauhid, Tarekat, Makrifattullah, Ilmu Hikmah, Islam Rasul*, and the like. (List of 1967).

8. Some interesting names on the List of the Ministry of Religion are, for instance : *Djawa Budi Sedjati Madjapahit* (obviously referring to the Hindu-Javanese Kingdom of Madjaphit), *Sapta Dharma* (an association which, however, shows a mixture of Islam and Hindu-Javanese traits. See Sri Pawenang, 1966), *Bodronojo* (Skt *Vajrānaya*), and so on.

9. The term is in this sense sometimes used with somewhat derisive connotation by anti-*kebatinan* circles. There exists also another meaning of the term which has nothing to do with *kebatinan*, but which only refers to the Javanese area in the agricultural sense. (Geertz, 1960, p. 339 mentions the term in its first, and 1968, p. 42 ff. in its second sense.

10. Called "spiritual excellence" by Geertz, 1960, p. 231 ff. It will be obvious that I do not agree with Geertz that this goal with all its implications should be considered as basical only for the *priyayi* views.

11. Inner life *batin*, hence *kebatinan*, "science of the inner life."

12. See, for example, *Satria Pinandita* I, 1, where various *kebatinan* leaders quote extensively from the Kor'an, the Bible, the Sayings of Confucius, and the like. Mr. Sukanto, talking about the importance of a healthy body, suddenly quoted *Mens sana in corpore sano* (also mentioned in *Orhiba* Manual, 1971 b, p. 4).

13. Booklets and magazines of these movements are usually distributed to members only, but are sometimes available on request. Members are also ready to lend their literature to others, as I have experienced.

14. Sukanto, 1971, p. 4.

15. The fact should already be obvious from his first name *Said*. As Arabic names are connected with Islam, and Arabic name is generally not given in non-Moslem circles in Indonesia. This fact became clear when Indonesians of Chinese descent changed their Chinese names into Indonesian from 1966 onwards. As most Chinese do not profess Islam, the names they chose were generally of Sanskrit or Modern Indonesian orign. I have personally been approached by many Chinese friends and acquaintances to provide them with names of Sanskrit or Old-Javanese origin.

16. Both associations have been outlawed since 1961 and have still managed to be established back.

17. Mr. Sukanto has retained this position, as the Indonesian members are still recognized as such by their international brothers, despite the outlawing of these associations.

18. See notes 10, and 11. Cf. also Geertz. 1969, p. 232.

19. Sukanto, 1971, p. 4.

20. Standard topic at *Orhiba* propaganda meetings. He has also visited the Himalayans on this tour.

21. Mr. Sukanto rather emphasized the point to me, as he seemed not to have been aware of the fact that many modern Yoga teachers no longer consider food restrictions as obligatory. See, for instance, Chrishop, 1957, Chapter V.

22. *Satria Pinandita* I, 1, Introduction.

23. The date of the official deed. The association itself, however, seems to have come into action in 1964.

24. He used the term *ilmn klénik* (secret lore) for these movements. The term acquired an unfavourable connotation afterwards. Many Indonesians of Javanese descent were quite angry and frustrated at the time, Dr. Tajan Siem, of Sino-Javanese extraction, then Professor of Javanese Language and Literature at the University of Indonesia, Djakarta, and at the moment lecturing at Nanyang University, Singapore, said to me in those days that he considered Sukarno's attitude as in fact betraying the traditional Javanese characteristic of syncretism. This feeling was shared by many others.

25. Commenting on *Orhiba's* present populprity he added : "It seems the fate of mystical teachings to be repudiated first and acclaimed afterwards."

26. The publication of the *orhiba* Manual in both Indonesian and English is, for example, taken care of by a wealthy member who was severely ill when he approached Mr. Sukanto in 1968 and has now fully recovered (see note 43). The Manual has at the moment started to be sold at a few bookstores at non-profit price.

27. In the official deed the object of the association involved is clearly outlined. In the deeds of the various *Orhiba* it is also stated with emphasis that the association has no political interest or affinities whatsoever. All these documents are in Mr. Sukanto's possession.

28. I attended two of these meetings, the latest of which was held on February 11 of this year. As an illustration of *orhiba's* popularity I mention a few of the attending guest : Dr. Hatta, one time Vice President of Indonesia and Mrs. Hatta ; Mr. Sudjono. former Indonesian Ambassador to Japan, Mrs. Sudjono (both are active members of the *Orhiba* association) ; Mrs. Surjadarma, wife of a former Chief-of Staff of the Indonesian Airforce ; Rosihan Anwar, general editor of the newspaper *Pedoman*, and many others.

29. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 10.

30. Mr. Sukanto's opinion on this was : Better to perform without faith than having faith and not performing.

31. Another *kebatinan* group is, for example, the *Bambu Kuning* (Yellow Bamboo), whose leader, Mr. Dradjat (incidentally also Javanese by birth) has considerable prestige as a healer. He sent some of his "patients", who suffer from asthma and high bloodpressure, to Mrs. Suprapto's (see note 4) training classes.

32. Cf. For instance Kraemer, 1937.

33. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2.

34. Sukanto, 1971, p. 6 and orally at the courses and demonstrations. However, *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b p. 3 states : "15 to 20 minutes" or "as long as one likes to perform" and is individually needed.

35. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 11.

36. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 10, where the warning is given that once one has started, training should be sustained without interruption, as relapse into previous illnesses is otherwise feared.

37. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, pp. 3, 4 and 10.

38. Cf. note 41.

39. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2.

40. Introduced into Indonesia during the Japanese occupation (1941-1945). It would explain the standing position in which the exercises have to be executed. The *taiso* exercises are, however, different and more elaborate. Also *Orhiba* does not use musical accompaniment, although at the last demonstration evening I attended Mr. Sukanto said to have no objection to music.

41. The physical and psychological disturbances *Orhiba* is reported to have cured range from such minor indispositions as a stiff neck or slight melancholism on account of having failed in an examination to graver illnesses like chronic asthma, cancer and severe neurosis (sec note 43). Mr. Sukanto declared also on the evening of February 11, that if both husbands and wives would be equally active in performing *Orhiba*, population growth would soon cease to be a problem in Indonesia. By some *Orhiba* is also believed to give occult powers.

42. 1959, Preface.

43. On these occasions three standard cases are usually recorded :

(a) Mr. Iskaq Tjokroadisurjo, a wellknown lawyer in Djakarta, who was actually suffering from cancer a few years ago. He was, in fact, operated, and as he said, "was sentenced to death", for the doctors only gave him five years more to live. In his dispair he let himself be persuaded to see Mr. Sukanto and join *Orhiba* class. After having performed the exercises for a few months, traces of cancer were declared to have vanished completely. He had consulted doctors both in the Netherlands and in Japan who were baffled by the recovering. However, he was not able to present full documentation on his case. For although the doctors in Japan had asked to be sent the tumor which was removed from his body or to get them into touch with the Indonesian doctors who had treated him, he never took the trouble. When asked the reason, he said that at the time he had felt much too happy to let himself be bothered about documentation. "I am here in person," he added, "alive and well, as proof incarnate of my recovering."

(b) Mrs. Suripto, who claims to have been fully cured from diabetes, high bloodpressure, a major heart disease and severe obesity. Again she could not provide conclusive medical documentation.

(c) Mr. Siregar from Pontianak, according to his own confession "once a never-do-well, but now, thanks to *Orhiba*, a useful citizen". Apart from having cured himself from the desire to dissipation, he claims to have cured his mother who had suffered from depressive mania for sixteen years, by leading her gradually to perform *Orhiba* exercises for many months. Because of this striking success he was able to gain substantial following for *Orhiba* in Pontianak. No medical documentation was presented.

44. For instance, Wood, 1959, pp. 179 ff.

45. Yoga is, however, still comparatively widely performed in Indonesia, mostly by the younger generation.

46. The *Orhiba* Manuals, 1971 a and 1971 b, and Sukanto, 1971. Earlier editions of the Indonesian Manual seem to date only from 1966.

47. Cf. a.o. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, pp. 54-57 ; Seno-Sastroamidjojo, 1958 c, 1961 and 1967 (p. 47). Also Geertz, 1960, Chapter 17.

48. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, pp. 63 ff. ; Seno-Sastroamidjojo, 1967, pp, 48 ff.

49. Classical literature like Roggowarsito, 1924, Wirjokoeso-soemomo, 1937, also parts of *Serat Tjentiti*, 1912-1915, which are concerned with the ideal image of the human being in his adjustment to life in this world, belong to standard *kebatinan* reading. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, presents a thesis on psycho-therapy based on *kebatinan* views, which are compared with the theories of Jung and Adler.

50. Sukanto, 1971, p. 7.

51. 1963, p. 81.

(a) But unlike *Haṭhayoga*, *Orhiba* does not have special exercises for breathing only.

52. Therefore more stress is laid on correct exhalation.

53. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2 and 1971b; p. 5 ; Sukanto, 1971 p. 4.

54. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p. 2 and 1971b, p. 5.

55. It is also performed at the end. First both arms are caressed, from hand to shoulder, then the body, from head to foot, after which both hands are clasped to the face, while one stands a moment in quiet reflection. No meditation in the Yoga sense is meant.

56. By this Mr. Sukanto actually parries the accusation sometimes put forward that *Orhiba* in fact is a-religious or even anti-religious. He is therefore also very careful to emphasize : "Not the exercises themselves provide the cure, but God and His Mercy through your own faith in His Power". Also *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 5 : "To preserve one's health and revering and loving one's own body, is also (a way of) worshipping God."

57. Sukanto, 1971, p. 6.

58. Cf. also note 49. General *kebatinan* literature gives rules for living. See, for instance, Séno-Sastroamidjojo, 1958, 1961, 1962, etc. ; Geertz, 1960, p. 317 : "this-worldly" mysticism. It is this side of *kebatinan* which is most conspicuous and which is adaptable to Islam. In the case of non-Islamic *kebatinan* teachings, it is obvious that there are views not compliable with Islam, and among these is the view on death. Hardjoprakoso, 1956, Chapter VIII, for instance, gives a view on death which should be considered as Hinduistic of pattern : Death is considered as transition to another existence, but closely affected by life in this world. It results in union with the *Sukṣma Sedjati* (Eternal Soul) in the case of the person who during life has attained the *kebatinan* goal of complete equanimity of emotions, which means that he is detached from the material world. In the case, however, of the person who has not yet attained this spiritual goal, which means that he still has "affiinites" to life in this world, it will result into (re) birth into another body. It is probably for this reason that *Pangestu*, which is based on the views discussed in Hardjoprakoso, 1956 (p. 178 : *Pagujuban Ngesti Tunggal* in acronymic shortening *Pangestu*), has not managed to win adherence outside the traditional Javanese society. For other examples of Javanese mystico-philosophical beliefs which should be considered as being outside the boundaries of Moslem orthodoxy, see Zoetmulder, 1971.

59. From the Skt *nāga* and *agni*.

60. Which should naturally be *sacred bone* or *sacrum*.

61. Mainly in the *tuturs* (see note 88).

62. Cf. Goris, 1926, pp. 118 ff., quoted in Soebadio, 1971, p. 26. Also *Tutur Sarasvatī* (K 142 or L or 9162), 4b: *Hana pinakahinuminuman nityakāla. Saṅ Hyaṅ Kuṇḍalinī (ni) ra......* (There is a perennial drink. It is the sacred *Kuṇḍalinī...*).

63. Goris, 1926, pp. 118 ff. ; Soebadio, 1971, p. 26.

64. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971a, p.2.

65. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 3.

66. Wood, 1959, Introduction.

67. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b. p. 4.

68. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b. p. 4.

69. Quotations from Guyot, 1965, p. 15.

70. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 4 ; Sukanto, 1971, p. 5.

71. Guyot, 1965, p. 11.

72. Explanation of the *Orhiba* emblem ; Man standing erect within three circles.

73. Guyot, 1965, p. 11.

74. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, Introduction.

75. Sukanto, 1971, p. 5.

76. Quotations from Guyot, 1965, p. 17.

77. *Orhiba* Manual, 1271b, p. 9.

78. Chrishop, 1957, pp. 20-21 ; Guyot, 1965, pp. 30-31.

79. *Orhiba* Manual, 1271b, p. 8.

80. Quoted from Guote, 1965, p. 45.

81. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971 b, p. 8.

82. Behanan, Chapter IX ; Chrishop, 1957, Chapter VIII; Guyot, 1965, Chapter V ; Wood, 1959, Chapter V ; Yesudian, 1963, pp. 81 ff.

83. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 8.

84. Title pages of Chrishop, 1957 and Guyot, 1265; also Yesudian, 1963, p. 182.

85. *Orhiba* Manual, 1971b, p. 10.

86. Wood, 1159, p. 87, quoting *Haṭhayoga Pradīpikā* II, 16, 17.

87. Guyot, 1965, p. 11. Yoga's importance lies in fact also largely in the psychological field (see Murphy, 1968, pp. 96 ff.)

88. Literature on these texts : Goris, 1926 ; Hooykaas, 1964 and 1266.

Text editions : Singhal, 1958 and 1962 ; Soebadio, 1971 ; Sudarshana Devi, 1957. Buddhist equivalents : Kats, 1910 ; Sugriwa, 1956. There are at the moment also a number of popularized brochures published by the *Parisadha Hindu Dharma* (see note 91).

89. Extensively in Soebadio, 1971, Chapter V.

90. Mr. Siregar (see note 43) explaining why he joined *Orhiba*.

91. The *Parisadha Hindu Dharma*, for instance, is engaged in more or less missionary work. They have published popular reading matter and founded centres where people can listen to recitations of ritualistic texts, learn to read Old-Javanese (*mabasan*), have ancient *Yoga* practice explained, and so on. It seems that quite a number of new adherents have become initiated into the Hindu-Balinese fold during the past five years. As a matter of fact, Hindu religious festivals are attended by a surprising number of followers at the moment, both in Bali and elsewhere in Indonesia, but no exact figures of the new Hindus could be shown.

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THE CONTRIBUTION OF TANTRA-ŚĀSTRA TO INDIAN CULTURE

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bhogena mokṣamāyāti bhogena kulasādhanam /
tasmād yatnād bhoga-yukto bhaved vīravaraḥ sudhīḥ //

The concept of Tantra

Tantra is a very broad term. It may suggest any kind of knowledge ; the Vedic, the pre-Vedic and the non-Vedic can pervade and represent all sorts of creeds, cults, occult, Religions, Philosophies, Disciplines of life, Politics, Economics, Commerce, Arts, Science-Organic and inorganic, Physical and Mental, Metaphysical and Spiritual. In a word, Tantra is practically a 'what not'. Technically it points out an Indian treatise which encompasses all the branches of Indic study by the name of Āgama in three main streams-Tantra, Yāmala and Ḍāmara ; but traditionally, 'the word Tantra, as defined by Mm. H. P. Shastri, means shortening, abbreviation i.e. reducing into something like algebraic forms, mantras and formula that would otherwise run to scores of syllables[1].

The Āgama has two main streams :—Āgama said to have been told by Śiva to Girijā, and honoured by Vāsudeva.[2] A similar definition is given also to the word *Nigama* which is very akin to *Āgama.*[3] But we find the most secular and universal definition of Āgama in the *Pingalamatam* of the *Bṛhadrathayāmala* that defines Tantra as a treatise which covers the whole span of knowledge. The syllable 'ā' denotes all-roundness and the root 'gam'

1. Notices of Skt. MSS. H.P.S. Vol. I. pp XXIV
2. āgatam śiva-vaktrebhyo gatañca girijā-mukhe /
matam Śrīvāsudevasya tasmādāgama ucyate //
3. nirgato girijāvaktrāt gatañca girīśa-śrutim /
mataśca vāsudevasya nigamaḥ parikathyate //

indicates 'that is to be known. That is, the word *Tantra* indicates the totality of the human knowledge and wisdom.

As it directs and protects it is called Śāstra. It is, in a word, jñāna (knowledge), because it brings everything within the purview of knowledge and leads man to the goal of knowledge. As it expands the span of knowledge and saves people, thereby it is known to the wise men by the name of Tantra.[4]

The particular stream of Tantra that deals with Evolution, Astrology, the conduct of life, order, discipline, and manners of all classes and castes and the nature and characteristics of Ages is called Yāmala.[5] *Ḍāmara* : The Vārāhī-tantra classifies Ḍāmara into six grades i.e. (i) the Yogaḍāmara, (ii) the Śivaḍāmara, (iii) the Durgāḍāmara, (iv) Sārasvata-ḍāmara, (v) the Brahmaḍāmara, (vi) and the Gandharvaḍāmara. Each of them particularly deals with special study and culture prevalent in practice among those particular sects and systems. These three main streams of Tantrik culture virtually indicate the three grades of people following the Tāntrik discipline and culture namely those dominated by the three basic elements of Sattva (Intelligence) Rajas (Action) and *Tamas* (Ignorance)[6]. Tantra is meant for intellectually advanced people, Yāmala is prescribed for the men of activity and Ḍāmara is for the less intelligent People.

The Subjects, Streams, & Branches of the Tantraśāstra

The Tantraśāstra is said to have come out from five mouths of Śiva and that is why it is called the Pañcāmnāya. Tantra narrates the process of evolution, re-evolution, selection of mantras, places of Gods and holy shrines, rights and duties of four āśramas ;

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4. Studies in Tantra : pp. 106.
   āṅbhāgastu samantācca gamayatīti gamo mataḥ /
   śasyate trāyate yasmāt tasmācchāstramudāhṛtam //
   jnāyate nayate yena jñānam tenābhidhīyate /
   tanute trāyate nityaṃ *tantra* mitthaṃ vidurbudhāḥ //
5. Vārāha-tantra. (Viśvakośa)
   Sṛṣṭiśca Jyotiṣākhyām nitya-kṛta-pradīpanam /
   Kramasūtraṃ varṇabhedo jātibhedastathaivaca /
   yugadharmaśca saṁkhyāto yāmalasyāṣṭalakṣaṇam /
6. Gautamīya :—1/28-30
   yaduktam te mayā tantraṃ trividhaṃ triguṇātmakam /

construction of Yantras ; origin of vegetation ; planets ; mythology ; description of treasure ; austerities ; conduct of life ; characteristics of males a d females ; duties of kings ; charity ; character of different ages (time) ; jurisprudence ; philosophy[7].

The Tantra-śāstra is classified into four grades : (i) the general* (ii) the special, (iii) the common, and (iv) the truths of exceptionally special cadre. The general topics of the Tantra śāstra are—History, Mythology, Mathematics, Poetry, Drama, Rhetorics, Prosody and the Science of Sound. People coming from all levels of society. The Vedic religion (Smṛti), Upaniṣads, studies in Mantra, Sūtra text, Logic, Metaphysics and allied branches and other systems and science are the special studies in the common group, which require special training under specialised teacher. The Saura.-tantra, the Śaiva tantra (including the Śākta-tantra), the Pāñcarātra (Vaiṣṇava-tantra), the Vimala (mata) tantra (referred by Aufrecht), the Ātharva-tantra (dealing with science and miracles as discussed in the Atharva-veda), Śāṃkhya and Yoga systems, Buddhism, Jainism, Cārvākism etc. are the Tantras of exceptionally special cadre, studied in a particular tradition, time, place and aptitude. The Bhairava-tantra, the Vajrayāna, the Guhya-tantra, the Samayācāra-tantra, the Bhūta (ḍāmara)-tantra are classified into the exceptionally special cadre. In addition to these four groups of Tantra, there is the Laukika-tantra-which makes the streams of complete Tantrik study five. The complete Tantra-śāstra is therefore according to

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7. Vārāhi-tantra.

sargaśca pratisargaśca mantra-nirṇaya eva ca /
devatānāñca samsthānaṃ tīrthānāncaiva varṇanam //
tathaivāśramadharmāśca viprasaṁsthānameva ca /
saṁsthānañcaiva bhūtānāṃ yantrānāñcaiva nirṇayaḥ //
utpattirvividhānāñca tarūṇām kalpasañjitam /
saṁsthānaṃ jyotiṣāṁcaiva purāṇākhyānameva ca //
kośasya kathanañcaiva vratānāṃ paribhāṣaṇam /
śaucācārasya cākhyānaṃ strīpuṁsoścaiva lakṣaṇam //
rājadharmo dānadharmo yugadharmastathaiva ca /
vyavahāraḥ kathyate ca tathā cādhyātma-varṇanam //
ityādi-lakṣaṇairyuktaṃ tantramityabhidhīyate /

Note :—*The word General stands for *Sāmānya* and the word common stands for *sādhāraṇa*. The observation of General Tantras—may be contradicted by special and exceptional rules but the common concepts prevade all of them.

Brahmayāmala (i) the Laukika (mundance) (ii) the Vedic (iii] the Adhyātma (spiritual) (iv) the Atimārga (the Super-natural and (v) the Ātharvaṇa (arts and science of the Atharva-Veda). It may be noted that the entry of the Ātharvaṇa-śāstra is a later event of the Vedic History and the special fascination to the Ātharvaṇa-śāstra of the Tantrika culture is a significant trait of cultural confluence[8]. The Tantra śāstra believes that eighteen branches of the so-called Brahmanic study had come out of the month of Lord Śiva and they are open to all castes on condition of their intellectual maturity, and not on the basis of their particular caste.

Truth is greater than the 'ism : Tantra does neither belittle this age of Kali, this Samsāra (mundane world), nor dream of the other world, but endeavours to drink the nectar of life and believe and let others allow to believe that this universe of ours is not unreal, not a mist of mystery, as God Śiva had manifested Himself into the eight phenomenal forms (aṣṭamūrti) and thirty-six elements. His aim of life is not to see him face to face to be in Him or Her and to attain the Summum bonum of *Soham* (He am I) or Sāham (She am I).[9]

In addition to sixty-four principal Tantras, current in practice, there are at least 343 Upatantras according to the Śaktisaṁgama tantra, of which following are found in practice. They are the

8. Jayadrathayāmala chap. 35. Śataka-1.

Sāmānyañca viśeṣañca sādhāraṇa-viśeṣataḥ /
viśeṣatara-satyañca śāstramuktaṃ caturvidham //
itihāsapurāṇāni gaṇitaṃ kāvya-nāṭakam /
chandāṃsi śabdaśāstrāṇi sāmānya-viṣayāni tu //
sarveṣāṁ varṇikānantu sāmānyaśravaṇādinā /
śrutismṛtyupaniṣado mantra-sūtra-prakalpanam //
ānvīkṣakañca vijñānam sādhāraṇaviśeṣagam /
doijante .... jāyate nādhikāriṇah //
sauraṃ śaivam pāñcarātram pramāṇam vimalam matam /
viśeṣākhyam yatastantram viśeṣasamayāt sthiteḥ //
Bhairavaṃ vajrayānañca guhyādyuktaṃ samārūḍham /
bhūta-tantrāditantrañca viśeṣataramucyate //
evaṃ caturvidhaṃ śāstram laukikādyañca pañcadhā /
laukikaṃ vaidikādhyātmamatimārgamatharvaṇam /
phalabheda-vibhinnañca śāstramevan tu pañcadhā //

9. Paraśurāma-kalpa-sūtra. 1/1.

Bauddha-tantra, the Kapila-tantra, the tantras told by Jaimini, Vaśiṣṭha, Kapila, Nārada, Garga, Pulastya, Bhārgava, Yājñavalkya Bhṛgu, Śukra, Bṛhaspati and others.[10] The principal Tantras, as stated above, sometimes represent a group of Tantras by a single name.[11] The Pheṭkāriṇī tantra, for example, is the collection of at least ten minor Tantras i.e. (i) the Unmattabhairava, (ii) Nārasiṃha, (iii) the Ḍāmara-bhairava, (iv) the Śivākara, (v) the Mālinyādi, (vi) the Asitāṅgādi, (vii) Yāmala, (viii) The Siddha-yogeśvara (ix) the Yoginī-jāla and (x) the Ambar-tantra.[12] Similarly the Ḍāmara, which ordinarily means charm, magic and miracle, has also its own six branches. (i) the Yogaḍāmara of 23533 verses, the Śivaḍāmara of 11007 verses, the Durgā ḍāmara of 11503 verses, the Sārasvata-ḍāmara of 9905 verses, the Brahmaḍāmara of 7105 verses and the Gandharvaḍāmara, that mainly deals with magic and science, of 60060 verses.[13] There is not a single way of life, system of thought, discipline and code of conduct, creed, cult, faith of religion which does not come under purview of the Tantra-śāstra. The complete Tantraśāstra may be classified into two groups :— (i) the Brahmanic tantra and (ii) the non-Brahmanic tantra. The

10. Mahāsiddhisārasvata tantra :—

siddheśvaraṃ mahātantraṃ kālītantraṃ kulārṇavam /
jñānārṇavaṃ nīlatantram pheṭkāri-tantramuttamam //
mahācīnādi-tantrāṇi avikalpamaheśvarau, /
susiddhānivarārohe ratha-krāntāsu bhūmiṣu /

Vārāhī-tantra :—

bauddhoktānyupatantrāṇi kapiloktāni yāni ca /
adbhutāni caitāni Jaiminyuktāni yāni ca //
vaśiṣṭhaḥ kapilaścaiva nārado garga eva ca /
pulastyo bhārgavaḥ siddho yājñavalkyo bhṛgustathā /
śukro bṛhaspatiścaiva anye ye munisattamāḥ //
....
na saṅkhyātāni tānyatra dharmavidbhirmahātmabhiḥ /

11. catuḥṣaṣṭhiśca tantrāṇi yama (Jāmala) lādīni Pārvati /
saphalāni varārohe viṣṇu-krantāsu bhūmiṣu //

12. Pheṭkārinītantra 1/1-2.

unmatta-bhairavaṃ nārasiṃham ḍāmara-bhairavam /
śivakāram mālinyādyamasitāṅgādi yāmalam /
siddhayogeśvaraṃ tantraṃ yoginījālamambaram /

13. Amaraṭīkā—Bharatamallika.

ḍāmaraḥ camatkāraḥ ; bhūtānāṃ ḍāmaraḥ camatkārah atra iti bhūtaḍāmaraḥ.

Śābarāmnāya-tantra, the Drāviḍāmnāya-tantra, the Ḍomlinī-tantra, the Pāśupata-tantra, the Kubjikā-tantra etc. may come under the second group found in practice among the aboriginal and backward tribes, castes and sects, all over the Indian subcontinent.

Seats and shrines of Tantric Culture

The pre-historic relics and remnants scattered all over the world, especially in the Asian continent, disclose some social and cultural links and likenesses. Geographically we may yet locate some important centres and rendezvous, known asPīṭhas or holy shrines which are situated in gate-ways of the country by land and sea-routes from Āsuraka (Assiriya) and Airaka (Irak) to Mahācīna (Mangolia) and Siṃhala (Cylon) to Tibet, China etc. Almost all the seats of social, ritual and spiritual cultures in the Indian sub-continent bear distinct or indistinct traits of Tantricism.

The Tantra-śāstra and the Purāṇa literature identify some four five and fifty-one important places in India as holy shrines (Pīṭhas) of Tantrik culture ; but actually we find two holy places in Baluchisthan, four in Kāmarūpa, seventeen in the Punjab and Sindh, thirty-five in Uttar Pradesh, four in Nepal, eleven in Bihar, three in Assam, twenty in West-Bengal and Banglādesh, five in Orissa, thirteen in Madhyapradesh, twenty seven in Deccan, twenty in Maharastra and Gujarat and five in Rajasthan i e. 181 in all. The *Devībhāgavata* asserts that all the beautiful places are Devī's shrines, all times are prescribed for the vows, all the functions are Her worships, as she takes shapes and forms of all created things and manifestations.[14]

Substantiating this universal truth the *Bhagavad Gita* echoes that whatsoever is glorious. beautiful and vigorous are to be taken partaking of my glory.[15]

The four principal Pīṭhas, according to Brahmanic Tantra, are Uḍḍīyāna, Jālandhara, Pūrṇagiri and Kāmarūpa. The Buddhist adds one more Śīlahatta or Sirithaṭṭa, now Śrīhaṭṭa in Bangalādeśa.

The Uḍḍiyāna Pīṭha is situated in the Swat vally, the north-west front of the country and an ancient land-route to U.S.S.R. via Yarkand, Darkot and the Pāmīr. Dr. P.C. Bagchi writes that

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14. *Devībhāgavata*—7/38/3.
sarvaṃ dṛśyaṃ mama sthānaṃ sarve kālā vratātmakāḥ /
utsavāḥ sarvakāleṣu yato'haṁ sarvarūpiṇī //

15. Gītā.
yad yad vibhūtimat sattvaṃ śrīmadūrjitameva vā /
tattadevāvagaccha tvaṃ mama tejoṁśasambhavam //

the people of Swat valley used to make the acquisition of magical formula in their occupation.[16] Prof. Sylvan Levi locates it in Kashgarh and a land-route-junction to great Himalayan region via Khotan.

Jālandhara is situated in another centre of cultural exchange by land-route to the interior Himalayan regions. Whether the present Jalandhar in the Panjab is the very tantric shrine or not, is now a point of controvercy[17]; but, the majority of scholars accept it as to be same in association with the Jwālāmukhī-Pīṭha another very important Centre of tantrik culture.

The exact location of Pūrṇagiri, according to Dr. P.C. Bagchi, is not yet identified, but some scholars (Dr. U. Das for example) locate it some where near the Mānā Pass in between Amaranath and Badarinath, another land route to China via Tibet and Nepal.

The next is Kāmarūpa-one of the oldest commercial and cultural seats and land-route through Aruṇāchala to Burma, Malaya, Indochina etc. This tantric shrine has all along a countrywide reputation for magic and miracle.

The Buddhist Tantra recognizes Śilahaṭṭa or Sirihatta or Śrīhaṭṭa, now in Bangladesh, known to be the fifth major tantrik shrine. It is the rendezvous of Meghālaya—Manipur—Nāgāland—Mizorum people, whose social and ritual life is still full of non-Brahmanic tantricism.

In addition to the important stations by land routes, we may note that all the principal seaports are also associated with tantrik names and culture, Tamralipti, and Kālitīrtha (Calcutta) in the East, Viśākhāpattan, Kanyākumārī in the South, Mahāmbā-puram (Bombay) and Dvārāvatī in the West.

16. *Studies in Tantra* by P.C. Bagchi p. 48.

17. Prāṇatoṣinī. pt. 7. chap. 4.
catuṣpīṭhāni pīṭhāni śaktideheṣu yāni ca /
....
śakteḥ sarvaśarīraṃ yat pīṭhaṃ pūrṇagiriḥ smṛtam /
tasyāḥ śiraśca subhage uḍḍīyānaṃ prakīrtitam //
sthānaṃ jālandharaṃ jñeyaṃ kāmarūpaṃ bhagastathā /
sarveṣu kāmapīṭheṣu devānāmapi durlabham //

The Secret of the Tantraśāstra :

"The Tantra-there is hardly any other kind of Literature" says Herbert. V. Guenther, "that has met with so much abuse particularly by those, who never read, or seriously studied a single line of it ; or that has so much fascinated those who on the testemony of misinformed and uniformed people thought the Tantra to be most powerful".

The tantras are not philosophy. There is an experience of life, of life just as it is, and in this way it is the basic foundation of many a Philosophy that developed at a later age.[18]

The tantras contain a very sound and healthy view of life. They welcome everybody, but they are not everybody's business. The tantrik culture requires a sound body, a receptive mind, a perfect character and purified soul as advised in the Tantra-yoga-śāstra. We, therefore, find categorical warmings in each and every step not to reveal the mystery of the tantra to those who have not aimed at divinity by the process as indicated in the Tantra-yoga-śāstra.

The Tantra-śāstra and the Yoga system have an interdependent reciprocal relation. Mantra (divine hymns) Yantra (symbolic diagram) and Pūjā (worship) collectively complete Tantrācāra or tantrik culture. Mantras composed of varṇas (alphabets), are classified into nine grades. (i) savasti (inaugural omens), (ii) sankalpa (the consecration Promise) (iii) bīja (the seed) (iv) mūla (the root) (v) gāyatrī (hymns) (vi), dhyāna (the meditative lores) (vii) stuti (the praise) (viii) āśis (the benediction) and (ix) Śānti (auspicious omen)

Worship of Gods : (*Devī bhūtvā Devīm yajet*)

Tantrik worships are of two kinds : (i) the sakāma (with desire) (ii) and niṣkāma (the desireless). The former may also be devided into two (a) Pūjā (worship) and six fold prayoga (enforcing Divine Powers, for (i) māraṇa (killing) (ii) mohana, (hypnotizing) (iii) stambhana (paralysing) (iv) vidveṣaṇa (enemity) (v) uccāṭana (displacing) (vi) vaśīkaraṅa (submission).

To perform these supernatural and super-human functions, the worshipper has to concentrate as much spiritual power as to

18. Juganaddha pp. Introd. pp. i. & ii.

enforce the divine powers to do such works for him as mentioned in ṣaṭkarma (six supernatural rites). The way to attain divinity and the process to equalise oneself with the Supreme One psycho-physically, has been shown in the Tantra-yoga-śāstra.

None is authorised to perform any tantrik ritual till he purifies the basic elements of his gross body by the prescribed Yogic process called the bhūta-śuddhi. The worshipper should meditate his jīvātmā (the individual soul)—seated on the eight-petalled lotus of the heart with aṣṭasiddhi (eight spiritual attainments, rooted out from the traingular cave of Mūlādhāra or Dharmakanda, or Mūlaśṛṅgāṭa. The Karṇikāra (pericarp) of the Lotus is the paramount liberation and illumined with the rays of praṇava (the symbolic syllable of Trinity). The worshipper then leads his Candle flame-like jīvātmā (the individual soul) by the force of Kula-Kuṇḍalinī (the serpent power) clung with the svayambhū-liṅga by three and half coils to the paramount Soul—seated on the thousand petalled lotus or Sahasrāra—in an urge of complete equilibrium.[19]

The Mīmaṁsā philosophy identfied mantras (Vedic hymns) with Gods. The Tantra-Yoga-śāstra scientifically formulates how to equate the Supreme One with the Supreme Sound. The Tantra Yoga-śāstra scientifically formulated a psycho-physical process of how a devout one may convert his materialistic body into a sonant body by three successive steps.

By the first step the worshipper dries up his sinful body filling it up with the Vāyubīja (the alphabetical symbol of wind) 'Yam', within the fire-fortified wall of the Vahnibīja (the alphabetic symbol of Fire) 'ram', at the rate of 16, 64, 32. counting of breaths

19. Tantrasāra chap. I.

dharmakanda-samudbhūtaṃ jñānanālaṃ suśobhanam /
aiśvaryāṣṭa-dalopetaṃ paraṃ vairāgykarṇikam //
svīyahṛt-kamalaṃ dhyāyet praṇavena prakāśitam /
kṛtvā tat karṇikāsaṁsthaṃ pradīpa-kalikānibham //
jīvātmānam hṛdi dhyātvā mūle sañcintya kuṇḍalīm /
suṣumnā-vartmanātmānam paramātmani yojayet //

by feats of *pūraka*, (filling up the body with wind), the *Kumbhaka* controlling the breathing in) and the *recaka* (letting the wind out).

In the second step he burns up the impure elements of his body by the fire of the vahnibīja, 'ram' and breaths out the ash of sin. In the third step, he breaths the wind in with the sixteen counts of the Candrabīja (the alphabetic symbol of the nectarous element of the moon) 'tham', leading the Moon on the fore-head, concentrates the breathing there with 64 counts of Varuṇabīja (the alphabetic symbol of Water) 'Vam') and makes an alphabetic body for his own, with the nectar drops of the alphabet, dripping down from the moon-disc situated just above the eye-brow joint (Lalāṭacakra). Then he breaths out the wind, confirms the newly built alphabetic body by the bhūmibīja (the alphabetic symbol of the Earth) 'lam'. Thus a tantrik devout converts himself into a supernatural alphabetic body to make the mantras alive and equates himself spiritually with his God. Now the nautral 'haṁsa' (I am He) course of breathing changes into the supernatural course of 'Soham' (He is I), Then he brings back the Jīvātman-who has just realised that he is identical to Him whom he worships, enjoys the bliss of service and again puts back in him 24 manifested elements of the universe with the luminous energy of Kulakuṇḍalinī for physical behaviourism.

To convert him into a complete alphabetic body, the worshipper places the fifty letters of the alphabet from 'am' to 'ham' making 'aham' (I am), the egoistic affection in the universe, on the outer joints of his body by anuloma and viloma order (successive and reverse orders) and in the inner body of six centres-placing four letters va, ṣa, śa, and sa, in the mūlādhāra ; six letters-ba, bha, ya, ra and la, in the svādhiṣṭhāna ; ten letters—ḍa, ḍha, ṇa, ta, tha, da, dha, na, pa, pha in the maṇipūra, twelve letters—ka, kha, ga, gha, ṇa, ca, cha, ja, jha, ña, ṭa, ṭha, in the anāhata ; sixteen letters from 'a' to 'aṁ' in veśuddhi ; two or three letters ha and ḷa with its meru(top) kṣa in the ājñā. In the Sahasrāra, there rest thousand letters in twenty circles by fifty each. 'A' is Śiva and 'Ha' is Śakti, combining the two into one, there grows a cosmic egoistic sense (A-ham).

This is the process to convert one's own physical body into a spiritual alphabetic body ; but there is also a process of the 'mādiphānta' alphabetic body in the *Śrīmālinīvijayottara-tantra* by the uttaramālinī arrangement, which is considered to be of the

greatest utility in infusiug the divine life into the body of the worshipper.[20]

The tantrik worship has two phases ; the outer worship and the inner worship. The inner worship is a pure yaugika process to equalise one's own self with the God worshipped-an unit of the Supreme one. Items of worship differ according to the difference of the nature of worship. They are generally sixteen. They are :— (i) āsana (offer of seat) (ii) svāgata (welcome) (iii) pādya (water to wash the feet) (iv) arghya (v), ācamanīya (water to sip) (vi) madhuparka (light refreshment) (vii) ācamana (third wash) (viii) Snāna (bath) (ix) vasana (cloth) (x) ābharaṇa (ornament) (xi) gandha (scent) (xii) puṣpa (flower) (xiii) dhūpa (scented smoke) (xiv) dīpa (light (xv) naivedya (food) (xvi) praṇāma (bowing down the head).[21]

In the external worship the devotee offers the above sixteen items to God to create a religious temper in the minds of common people, who generally like pomp, feasts etc. in the name of worship. But the inner worship is quite a different thing. The items of offering there are the symbols of psycho-spiritual self bequeathal, by the psycho-physical process of Yoga.

By way of bhūtaśuddhi when a worshipper goes to equate himself with his God (i) he offers his heart as a seat ; (ii) the welcome by confirming Her image on the eye-brow-junction by the Yogic process of Yonimudrā and meditation (iii) the nectarous fountain as a shower of wash, (iv) the mind as arghya offering (v) the same nectar drops dripping down from the thousand petalled lotus as the madhuparka and (vi) the next wash ; (some tantras prescribe the punch of essence—extracted from the elements of five matters as a madhuparka for God) (vii) the same nectar fountain as a shower-bath ; (viii) the subtle element of the Sky is Her cloth, (ix) the essence of Earth is the scent for Her, (x) the rosy mind is the flower-offering (xi) the breaths of life are smokes of five scent-sticks (dhūpa) (xii) the substance of fire is the candle (xiii) the Ocean of nactar is the dinner for Her, (xiv) the unmodulated eternal sound of praṇava is the sound of bell for Her, (xv) the subtle substance of air is Her fan, (vvi) the thousand petalled lotus on the cerebrum is the umbrella for Her ; the subtle element of the

20. Śrí mālinīvijayottara-tantra, chap. III. Verse 37-40. Do. Introd. p. xv.

21. Tantrasāra

āsanaṃ svāgataṃ pādyamarghyamācamanīyakam /
madhuparkācamanasnānavasanābharaṇāni ca // etc.

sound is the song for Her, and the activities of five sense organs are the dance-offering for Her[22].

Now, it transpires that the Tantraśāstra and the Yoga-system are the two sides of a thing. The Yoga system is one of the six systems of Philosophy that deals more with concepts of Yoga ; but its experimental side is closely related to the Tantra-śāstra.

From the very primitive age, the culture of Yoga is in the marrow of Indian life, as is evident in some relies of the Mohenjo-daro excavation. The four main streams of the experimental Yoga-śāstra (i) the Mantra-yoga (ii) the Laya-yoga (iii) The Haṭha Yoga (iv) the Rāja-yoga, are scientifically experimented in the tantric rituals.

The process of Evolution in the Tantra-śāstra

Almost all Indian philosophies and Disciplines explain the mystry of evolution according to their own ; but, the process of evolution, as dealt with in the Tantra-śāstra, seems to be more rational and scientific. As the Sāṃkhya system is supposed to be the earliest one, we note some common characteristics between the two. It may be noted in this connection that the Sāṃkhya system is referred to in some places as the Sāṃkhya-tantra or the Saṃkhya-smṛti.

In the process of the Bhūtaśuddhi, the Tantraśāstra accepts the way of Evolution of the Sāṃkhya-system :—Puruṣa, Prakṛti Mahat, Ahaṃkāra = 4 ; 5 tanmātras, subtle elements ; 5 mahābhūtas, 5 jñānendriya (sense organs) 5 karmendriya (active organs). The Tantraśāstra makes them 36 by adding 12 more. The extra twelve factors accepted by the Tantraśāstra are nothing but the sub-sections of the first four elements of the Sāṃkhya system. Puruṣa and Prakṛti of the Sāṃkhya system are called Śiva and Śakti. The

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22. *Tantrasāra*

hṛt-padmamāsanaṃ dadyāt sahsrāracyutāmṛtam /
pādyaṃ caraṇayordadyāt manastyarghyaṃ prakalpayet //
ācamanāmṛtenaiva snānīyaṃ tena ca smṛtam /
ākāśatattvaṃ vastraṃ syāt gandhaḥ syāt kṣititattvakam //
cittaṃ prakalpayet puṣpaṃ dhūpaṃ prāṇaṃ prakalpayet //
tejastattvañca dīpārthaṃ naivedyam syāt sudhāmbudhiḥ //
anāhatadhvanirghaṇṭā vāyutattvañca cāmaram /
sahasrāraṃ bhavecchatraṃ śabdatattvañca gītakam //
nṛtyamindriyakarmāṇi pūjāmitthaṃ prakalpayet //

thirty six elements of the Tantraśāstra are devided into three groups (i) ātmatattva, (ii) vidyātattva, and (iii) śaktitattva ; or, (i) Śivatattva, (ii) Śakitattva and (iii) naratattva. The *Tattva-prakāśa* of the Śaiva school classifies the 36 elements into three groups : (a) The Pati (the Master) has five forms (i) Śiva, (ii) Śakti ; (iii) Sadāśiva, (iv) Īśvara, and (v) Śuddhavidyā

(b) The Paśu (animal) has seven division :—(i) māyā, (ii) kāla, (iii) niyati, (iv) kalā (v) vidyā, (vi) rāga, and (vii) puruṣa (created being).

(c) The Pāśa is the twenty-four elements of the Sāṃkhya system i.e. 5+7+24=36.

The role of initiation in the Tantraśāstra

The man is called a social animal. The Brahmasūtra marks no qualifative difference in between a social animal and a real animal[23]. The Tāntrika initation is a spiritualistic process that transforms a beast-like man into a full man or 'Vīra' and from a full man to a divine man.

There is a categorical difference between a Vedic initiation and a Tāntrik initiation. The eligibility to Vedic initiation is determined on criteria of an age, a Caste, a sex and a personal ; but the tantrik initiation is not very much particular about the above facts. In a Vedic initiation a father, an elder brother etc. have the right to initiate a son or a brother ; but, in a tāntrik initiation they are not eligible to be a Guru. On the other hand a mother is psychologically better appreciated to be the fittest Guru of a son. The relation between an initiator (Guru) and an initiated (śiṣya) should be absolutely selfless, kind, affectionate and spiritual. The Tantra śāstra disqualifies a father, a brother etc. as they may hardly be selfless.

The tantrik initiation is conducted by a psycho-spiritualistic process which determines that the bīja and mantra should always be stronger than the initiated in all respects. They should be coined on the criteria of 'the ṛni-dhani-cakra' (the debter-creditor circle) 'the rāśicakra' (the zodiac circle) the tārācakra' (the star-circle that equates the stars of the initiated with that of the God), the akadama cakra' (a diagram that selects the appropriate bījamantra) and 'the akathaha cakra' (a geometrical diagram that

23. Brahmasūtra—1/3. paśvādibhiścāviśeṣāt.

determines the appropriate mantra), the Koṭa-cakra (a diagram that finds the mathematical value of bījas), the Kulā-kulacakra (a scientific distribution of letter of bīja-mantras as per their materialistic origins). Here 'Kula' means the cosmos and 'akula' indicates the anuttara or Śiva.[24]

The disciple initiated to the Tantra-yoga should follow a daily routine of spiritual culture with the mantras. Mantras are neither meaningless symbols nor some inspiring words ; but they are the symbolic units of alive energy. The Mantroddhāra Tantra explains the significance of each mantra, indicating the cosmic Energy that it symbolizes.

After a sincerely persistent culture of the mantra by the way of the Mantra yoga, the Haṭha-yoga, the Rāja-yoga and the Laya-yoga, when the Guru (the initiator) finds his disciple advanced in the way of salvation, he prescribes the process of puraścaraṇa to lead him up to the upper spiritual level ; and to confirm him in that stage, he advises ten items of the divine culture i.e., (i) Japa (chanting of mantras) (ii) homa (sacrifice) (iii) tarpaṇa (water offering) (iv) abhiṣeka (holy bath) (v) aghamarṣaṇa (purging of sin) (vi) sūryārghya (offering to the Sun-God (vii) jalapāna (drinking of the holy water) (viii) praṇāma (bowing down) (ix) pūjā (worship) and (x) Brāhmaṇa-bhojana (offering a feast to the spiritually advanced persons).

The concept of the man, the full man and the superman,

The word abhiṣheka has two meanings, (i) the sacred bath and (ii) the coronation. The former is a part of puraścaraṇa and the latter is a psychospiritual rite called also Pūrṇābhiṣeka or complete coronation. The Pūrṇābhiṣeka has also two steps (i) the Sāmrājyābhiṣeka or the coronation on the victory over the entire cosmic empire-what vests him with the power of pūrṇāhantā' over the universe by which he feels the existence of the entire cosmic world in himself, collectively and individually and then virtually acquires the absolute Lordship over the Universe or Īśvaratva. Now all the 'that' (i.e. individual created beings) become a universal being, or a complete composite 'I am'. In a word, now the initiated one enjoys the position of So'ham' or 'Sāham' (I am He, She or It). By the next step he conquers the Mahāsāmrājya or the Medhā-Sāmrājya or proclaims absolute monarchy over the universe. Now the two become one, the sense of duality evaporates completely and the

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24. Tantra-sāra.

devout one perfectly identifies himself with the Sepreme God and rests in a Bliss ful stage of 'Śivo'ham' (I, myself am Śiva). In this state the two become one, Śiva worships Śiva. Then the worship, the worshipper and the worshipped become a complete compact and one brusts out in an ecstasy of absolute Happiness" namastubhyam namo mahyam tubhyam mahyam namo namah" (I offer my obeisance to you, to me, to you and me both). All these I have discussed in detail in my works. (i) *The Studies in Divine Aesthetics* (ii) *An Introduction to Indian Literary Criticism* and (iii) *Elements of Indian Aesthetics.*

By the disciplined culture of the mantrajīva (the spirit of the bījamantra) as advised in the process of initiation the aṇujīva (the atom-like individual soul) acquires the vīrabhāva (full manship) and from the vīrabhāva he attains the divya-bhāva (the divine superman-hood) Thus the tantrik initiation is a scientifically formulated spiritual culture that converts cumulatively a common man to a full man and a full man to a superman.

Influence of the Tantra-śāstra on every walk of life.

The Tantra-śāstra is the true representative of Indian culture. It is encyclopaedic in scope ; it treasures all the best in Indian civilization and culture. It refuses none, welcomes all the ways and views. It is a common platform open to all. The motto of the Tantra śāstra is "Man is truth above par and there is nothing beyond that".

But the Tantra śāstra never reveals its secret to an insincere one. It has its own literature called the Tantra-sāhitya, its own philosophy called the Tantra-śāstra, its own creed called the Tantra-dharma, its own culture called the Tantrācāra or kulācāra, its own language called Sandhā-bhāṣā and its own alphabet called the Pūrvamālinī and the uttara-mālinī as discussed above. Many important instructions of the Tantra-śāstra are codified in the Sandhā-bhāṣā, what Mm. Haraprasad Sastri called the 'twilight language' Mm. Vidhusekhara Sastri called 'abhiprāyika-vacana' or 'neyārtha-vacana'. We may better call it Vyañjanā (the Suggested sense) according to the *Piṅgalamata* of the *Jayadrathayāmala*. Explaining the nature of the Sandhābhāṣā, the *Piṅgalamata* says that it is a particular kind of language based on the Vācya-vācaka-bhāva (the denoted-denotative relation), the lakṣya-lahṣaka bhāva (the indicated-indicative relation) the Vyaṅgya-vyañjaka-bhāva (the suggested-suggestive relation).[25] On the above postulation we may take the Sandhā-bhāṣā for granted as a kind of Vyañjanā based on the criteria of denotation and indication, which

25. *Piṅgalamatam*, V.B. Skt. MSS. No. 16. Sil/ Fol. 76.

strike the suggested sense. We find the reference to the *Śiraścheda-jayadratha*—yāmala in the Cambodian inscription of the ninth century, the content of which must have been studied in India much before the Cambodian reference[26]. The word sandhā-means joined or twin, indicating that it is a twin language of double significance, one for common people and the other for yogins (ascetics) of the Tantrikacult. Explaining the significance of the Sandhā-bhaṣā, the *Hevajra tantra* says that the Sandhābhāṣā is a great language that elaborately indicates the manner, custom and tradition of Tantricism.[27]

The *Hevajra Tantra* had been translated into Chinese. The faithful Chinese translation renders it as '*fang pien shuo*' Rosenberg translates it as aupacārika, that which the suggested sense based on the indicative indicated relation according to Indian Poetics. The word '*fang yien*' is equivellent to samaya' denoting samaya (time) śapatha (swearing or promise) ācāra (tradition, culture or terms and condition.[28]

Significance of the Pañcatattva-sādhana

Whatever wrong notions have yet been formed in interpreting the meaning and significance of tantraik Texts and rites are due to either less informative reference, or half-digested exposition, or ignorance of technicalities, especially in the Sandhābhāṣā. The meaning of words does not only change according to the desire of a speaker, but it changes according to the change of time and place. Words like 'Yoni' 'garbha' etc. were not considered so much vulgar in the Vedic age as they are now-a-days.

There is a hue and cry regarding the propriety of the Pañcatattva-sādhana or the Pañca-makāra-sādhana (the five 'mas') and elements of Tantrik ritual wine, women etc. The real significance of these items is determined by the nature, quality and spiritual progress of a tantrik Sādhaka. India all along maintains a tradition to explain secret things by words of double sense. The one and the same word is to be explained according to quality, grade and spiritual achievement of a Sādhaka e.g., paśu (the animal) vīra (the hero) and divya (the divine one) with the help of Sandhā-bhāṣā. A short list of such words is given below.

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26. Studies in Tantras. Chap. III, pp. 27-28. P.C. Bagchi.

27. *Hevajra tantra* chap. 13.

sandhā-bhāṣāṃ mahābhāṣām
samaya- saṅketa-vistarām /

28. *Amarakośa*—1

samayaḥśapathācāro vibhāgo deśakālayoḥ /

Words used in the Sandhā-bhāṣā as found in the Buddhist Hevajra tantra

	Word	Literal sense	Direct sense in Sandhā-bhāṣā	Suggested sense in Sandhā-bhāsā
1.	madana	cupid of sex	Wine	fruit product
2.	bala	strength	meat	extract
3.	kapāla	skull	lotus-vase	the thousand petalled lotus
4.	mūtra	urine	musk	a good scent
5.	śukra	the planat,Semen etc.	camphor	the Creator
6.	mahāmāṁsa	human flesh	honey	the ripe yogin
7.	ḍombī	one belonging to the domba class.	one belonging to the vajrakula	the vajra-cult etc.

Words used in Sandhā-bhāṣā, reffered to in the Brahmanic tantras like Kulārṇava-tantra, Samayācāra-tantra.

	Words	Literal sense	Direct meaning in the Sandhā bhāṣā	Suggested meaning in the Sandhā-bhāṣā
1.	madya	wine	a cold drink of curd, sugar etc.	the nectar-flow of the cerebral lotus, or Energy.
2.	māṁsa (mām+sa) (asṛjat)	meat	cake	Śiva or complete self-surrender
3.	matsya (Mat+sa)	fish	milk, other than that of a cow.	Iḍā & Pingalā or the six passions.
4.	mudrā	symbolic Jesture,	fried rice etc.	purified soul.
5.	maithuna	sexual intercourse	offering of karavīra and aparājitā flower	Śiva and Śakti
6.	yoni	root cause	the traingular Cave, of the balbous root of all nerves	traingular figures constructed by three lines of Knowing, Doing and Willing in spiritual culture, or the lalanā cakra in between Viśuddha and ājñā.
7.	liṅga	sign or symbol.	the svayambhū liṅga or unit of good.	the paramount position in which every thing dissolves (līyate).

It has been reffered to above that the Brahma Yāmala is attributed as *Śiraścheda.* What does the word *Śiraścheda* mean ? Does it suggest a kind of execution or beheading or a human sacrifice ? No, Not at all. It suggests that the spiritual globe has two semi-circular halves--the lower part—containing spiritual centres from mūlādhāra to ājñā (i.e. from the tip of the spinal cord to medulla oblongata.) is the kingdom of Prakṛti or Māyā or Spiritual ignorance and the upper part beginning just above from the fore-front point of ājñā (medulla) to the cerebral centre of Sahasrāra-containing thousands of Spiritual Centres (or brain cells) is the kingdom of Intelligence or Supreme God or Śiva where a spiritualist may go and dwell, when he can cut off his connection with the lower world, below the Head. The *Brahma Yāmala* is such a Tantra that strictly deals with the spiritual world of pure intelligence.

Youthful mirth and the partner of the Tantrika culture

Masculinity and feminity in a man are called Śiva and Śakti, or nāyaka or nāyikā[29]. Those who think of them selves as men and women of blood and flesh can never attain the bliss of the tantrik discipline[30]. Physical participation of a woman partner for a man and a man partner for a woman in a tantrik culture is sometimes admissible ; but that is not in the nature of a bacchanalia. It is practically a spiritual experimentation to testify if a disciplined disciple has attained the state of complete self-denial and super-sensuosness[31]. The youthful mirth of a trantrik devotee is not like that "pītvā pītvā punaḥ pītvā etc. It does not indicate that a devotee should drink and drink. It virtually suggests that the individual soul, pushed up by the Kuṇḍalinī Śakti, should drink again and again the nectar of the thousand petalled lotus, fall down again and again from the spiritual centre of ājñā to triangular cave, and should again struggle to rise up to the paramount position of the cerebral thousand-petalled lotus. The mystic cult is composed on a mystic language. If one attempts to explain it according to our language, how could he elucidate "mātṛyonau viśellingam bhaginībhyām kucamardam" etc. By the term of *Yauvanollāsa*

29. *Gautamīya.* T. 40/2.
pumbhāvah śiva ityāhu strībhāvaḥ prakṛtiḥ parā /

30. Prāṇatosiṇī. 7/4/555 pp.
Śaktau manuṣyabuddhistu yaḥ karoti varānane /
na tasya mantra-siddhih syāt viparītam phalam bhavet //

31. *Tripura upa.* 15. pariśrutā haviṣā pāvitena pra samkoce galite manastaḥ / sarvaḥ sarvasya jagato vidhātā dhartā bhartā viśvarūpatvameti //

[Youthful mirth], the Tantraśāstra indicates a mirthful discipline as mentioned in the *Tripuropaniṣad*: the worshipper enjoys the perfect happiness, when he is fortunate enough to drink up the brimful cup of his mental juice, extracted by the fire of mantra.

In the lower cadre of the qualitative worship, the *Tantraśāstra* does not deny physical relation, which is nothing but nature's law among paśus [animals]. Here, the entry of men and women coming from all lower and middle classes, particularly from the dancers, oilsellers, washerman, barbar, wine-seller etc., does not only determine universality of the Tantraśāstra ; but it indicates an inner significance.[32] A few illustrations are mentioned here [i] The Naṭī is a beautiful girl, coming from all classes ; who finds inspiration in singing and dancing in the eve worship. [ii] Similarly, she who prefers a vīra [hero] husband to a paśu (animal like) one is is called the chaṇḍālī[33] [iii] she who expresses divine enjoyment in a worship is a veśyā [harlot] etc. In a word, the 64 Yoginīs of the Tantra-śāstra represent the 64 trade-class of Indian society, according to the *Skandapurāṇa*,

The *Kubjikā-Tantra*, which is supposed to have come to India from outside indicates a new departure of the anti-brāhmanic tāntrik culture prevalent among pre-Vedic aboriginal tribes and it says that the serects of this Tantra should not be disclosed to Brahmanas.

Influence of the Tantraśāstra on Indian Aesthetics & Literary Principles

The influence of Kashmir Śaivism on the concept of Vyañjanā or Suggestion is an admitted fact at least from the time of Somānanda of the 8th century. It has been said above that the *Bṛhadratha Yāmala*, earlier than Somānanda's *Śivadṛṣṭi*, deals with the concept of *suggestion*. Vedas identify Rasa with Supreme one (*Raso vai saḥ*). Rasa is personified in Lord Śiva. In the name Kālidāsa and in the works of Bhavabhūti, Tantrik influence can not be ignored. The Śaiva aesthetes like Utpalarāja, Abhinavagupta etc. consider God Śiva as the composite form of paramount peace and

32. *Br.* *Tantra-sāra*. 107 pp. 627.
naṭī kāpālikā veśyā pukkasi nāpitāṅganā / etc.

33. *Niruttara Tantra*. paṭala. 14.
pūjādravyaṃ samālokya nṛtya-gīta-parāyaṇā /
catur-varṇod-bhavā ramyā sā naṭī parikīrtitā //
pūjā-dravyaṃ samālokya kulajā vīramāśrayet /
santyajya paśubhartāraṃ karma-cāṇḍālinī smṛtā //

	1	2	3	4	5	6
	Basic Element	*Representative Gods*	*Symbols*	*Direction*	*Vedic parallels*	*Dormant feelings*
1.	Bhūmi	Śarva	Earth	East	Indra	Rati
2.	Āpas	Bhava	Water	West	Varuṇa	Hāsa
3.	Anala	Rudra	Fire	South-East	Vahni	Śoka
4.	Vāyu	Ugra	Wind	South-West	Vāyu	Krodha
5.	Kham	Bhīma	Sky	South	Yama	Utsāha
6.	Manas	Paśupati	(Yajamāna) Jīva-Śiva	North West	Nirṛti	Bhaya
7.	Aham	Iśāna (Ego)	The Sun	North-East	Īśana	Jugupsā
8.	Buddhi	Soma	The Moon	North	Mahādeva	Vismaya

	7	8	9	10
	Rasas	*Tutelary Gods*	*Colours*	*Poet's representation*
1.	Śṛṅgāra	Viṣṇu	Green	सर्वबीजप्रकृतिः
2.	Hāsya	Pramatha	White	आद्या सृष्टिः
3.	Karuṇa	Yama	Grey	वहति विधिहुतं हविः
4.	Raudra	Rudra	Red	प्राणिनः प्राणवन्तः
5.	Vīra	Mahendra	Ash	स्थिता व्याप्य विश्वम
6.	Bhayānaka	Kāla	Black	या च होत्री
7.	Bībhatsa	Mahākāla	Blue	ये द्वे कालं विधत्तः
8.	Adbhuta	Brahma	Yellow	

his eight phenomenal exuberances are the representatives of eight Rasas which have been suggested in the benedictory verses of Kālidāsa's dramas and is substantiated by the tantrik concept of aṣṭamūrti. Earth, Water, Fire, Wind, Eather or Sky, Mind, Ego and Intellect, their tutelary Gods, colours, functions, directions, dormant feelings as identified in the Tantrik aṣṭamūrti (eight phenomenal features) and aṣṭalokapāla (eight representative Gods of eight quarters) as given below :

The *Brahma-yāmala* also recommends taking tantrik partners from lowest grades of society like potters, oil-seed-grinders etc.[34]

Culture and Science in the Tantra śāstra is an important factor. Each Tantra is supposed to have represented a certain way of life physical, moral, scientific, intellectual and cultural of a certain Kula or clan. The Viśva-Bhāratī Sanskrit MSS. Section preserves considerable number of rare and valuable tantrik MSS. of importance. The contents of some of these MSS. are given below.

(i) *The Herukābhidhāna Tantra* deals with the science of sound in chapter vi, nāḍīcakra (circle of veins and nerves) in chap vii, samayasaṅketa (applied physiological behaviourism) in chapter viii, maṇḍala-sūtrapāta (geometrical construction of cosmological and psycho-physiological process) in chapter xvii, utkrāntiyoga (spiritual process to control and uphold the breaths of life) in chapter xix, rasāyana (chemistry) in chapter xxv, vāruṇīnirdeśa (scientific method of extracting wine and similar medicine) and in chapter xxvi ; citrādilakṣaṇa (formula and definition of various colours, portraits and images, which is being edited by me).

(2) *The Piṅgalamatam* deals with (i) Iconography (ii) Wood craft, (iii) Sculpture, (iv) Building, garden and road-construction etc.

(3) *Picumatam* deals with Fine Arts, colours, sketch, diagram, clay, bamboo and wood models of Tantrik Gods (being edited by me).

(4) *Kālacakratantra* deals with (i) Medicine (ii) Cosmology and (iii) Astronomy etc. edited by Prof. Dr. B. Banarjee, of Viśva-Bhārati.

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34. There are some liberal Tantras, which even advise some lower class people like oil-sellers to be a partner in Tāntrika ritual.

(5) *Kubjikāmata* single MS, (in later Gupta character) deals with cosmology, medical science, Para-psychology etc. and is being edited by Dr. N. Chakravarty of the Ms. Deptt.

(6) *Indrajāla-tantra* :—Chemistry ; Astronomy, Mining, Medicine, science of sound floating in the sky (ākāśa-bhramaṇa) Miracles (māyāprayoga), Medicine, voices and languages of different species, Hypnotism, painting, Mimicry.

The expansion of the Tantrik culture over the world

The Vedic culture had its centre in the Indo-Gangetic valley and the Himalayan regions ; but the Tantrik culture has its centre in the Vindhyas, which is geographically supposed to be earlier than the Himalayas. Making the Vindhyas its centre it extends through three principal routes outside India. (i) the Viṣṇukrāntā, (ii) the Rathakrānta, and the (iii) Aśvakrāntā. The east and south-east regions, including the Indian archipelago, come under the jurisdiction of Viṣṇukrāntā route. Influence of Tantrik mystery is yet marked in the social life of the people of Manipur, Assam, Arunachala, Burma, Malaya, etc. Rathakrāntā extended from Vindhyas to Mahācīna including Nepal and Tibet. Aśva-krāntā is extended from Vindhyas to the Indian Ocean including the remaining parts of the Indian Sub-continent. India was never limited within the present political and geographical territory. The 'Cultural India' comprehends almost the whole of Asia from Asuraka-Airak including Samaraskanda, Avaraskanda, Ajagavīka to Cīna and Mahācīna [Mongolia] from East to West and from Himavāha. (The land of extensive ice Syberia [?] where a few relics of Indian culture are said to have been traced out) to Mahāsamudra (Indian Ocean).

The *Brahmayāmala* classifies the total deposit of the Tantra-śāstra in three streams on the qualitative basis. The south streams for the intellectual people ; the left stream for the physically active people and the middle stream for the intellectually and physically dull people. The *Niruttara Tantra* categorises these three streams according to three psychic states like paśu, vīra and divya. Some classify it into five as it comes out from the five mouths of *Śiva*. They are also divided according the difference of āmnāya and streams into five, six and ten ; but the *Kulārṇava-tantra* says that they are much more than those in number. Tantras are classified according to their streams, sectors and āmnāya, but there are some Tantras, common to all called ākaras or perennial sources.

The *Tantratattva* furnishes a list of 220 Tantras said to be yet available ; but the number of groups of Tantras-representing the current schools are :—Śaiva and Śākta 400, Vaiṣṇava—336 Saura—177 Gāṇapatya—119, Bauddha—39=totalling 1071.

Significance of Yantra & Mantra.

Yantraṃ tu gṛhamityāhuḥ gṛhasthā devatā matā /
(*Tārākhaṇḍa*)

mudrāṃ bhautikamityāhuḥ yantraṃ viddhi manomayam /
mantraṃ jñānamayaṃ viddhi evaṃ tridhā vapurbhavet
(*Gautamīya tantra*)

Yantras are practically constructive features of the applied mantra-text, symbolic forms of Divine Power, constituted by the scientific distribution of letter and syllables of mantras. Like other geometrical figures almost all the Tantrik yantras are constructed by projecting points into various lines, triangles, rectangles and circles, sometimes explaining the evolution of the cosmic process and sometimes representing the tantrik Gods, which are always drawn during any auspicious event in Bengal and South India called ālepana' or 'ālpana'. The united form of the Infinite Two-in-One, marks a parā-bindu or the paramount position in a state of complete equilibrium.

In the urge of creation—the Śakti-point dominates and there starts a torment of oscillation colled 'spand' when innumerable spark-points of white, red and yellow, shoot out within a circumference, the cosmic sphere which form an equilateral traingle of white, red and yellow lines called jñāna [knowing] kṛti [doing[and icchā [willing]. With vertices of knowing and doing lines, up and down, on the same base of willing, in urge of liberation and creation-the one and the same traingle-being multiplied into two, takes a hexagonal form of the common Śakticakra, and by nine such triangles takes the form of Śrīcakra. The six spiritual centres have such traingles indicating various cosmic and spiritual changes and advancements of the Piṇḍāṇḍa (individual soul) and the Brahmāṇḍa (universe).

By the help of these basic points the Tantra-śāstra devises various figures and diagrams indicating various ritual functions and spiritual culture i.e. sarvatobhadra-maṇḍala, aṣṭadala-maṇḍala navanābha maṇḍala etc. Images are the media of meditation, but Yantras are the ritual diagrams, indicating the spiritual and cosmological advancement of devout souls.

Importance of yantras, maṇḍalas and cakras is accepted by both the Brahmanic and non-Brahmanic tantras. They are not only the symbolic features of the divine powers, but representative diagrams of spiritual and cosmological planes and progress, of a released soul, enroute to sublime divinity.

Concept of Śakti and Bhakti in the Tantra-śāstra

The dhyānayoga (meditation) the jñānayoga (contemplation as the spiritual process of attaining the divine knowledge) and the Bhakti-yoga (sublime devotion) are the three main processes, which promote a devout soul to paramount divinity in the dawn of human civilization irrespective of cult, creed and ism. The karmayoga (performance of divine rites) is the common platform that leads the above three stair-cases to divinity. Which of the three is greater and better, is an eternal question ; yet the majority of scholars, from the time of Ānanda-vardhana to the time of Madhusūdana-sarasvatī appreciated the Bhaktiyoga best.

Śakti and Bhakti are the two names of one thing in different states. When the trinity of Knowing, Doing and Willing in Śakti rests in a completely harmonious communion with the Paramount Point of Para-bindu. It is then called Bhakti ; but when in the urge of creation of liberation the equilibrium breaks and the Paramount Energy splits up into three streams—Knowing, Doing and Willing. It is termed Śakti "atha śakteḥ parāvasthā yairbhaktyā parigīyate" That is, "śakteḥ parāvasthābhidhānameva Bhaktiḥ", says Somānanda in his *Śivadṛṣṭi*. "He, who is enriched with the wealth of Bhakti, hankers for nothing ; and if he is poor of such wealth, what else should he ask for"—says Utpalarāja.

The concept of great liberation

The Tantra-śāstra neither belittles this world, nor hankers for divinity, nor aims at the zero-like nirvāṇa, nor likes to imprison the soul in some tasteless immortality. His divine service is that of a hero's (vīra's). His liberating soul marches on, like a hero, not only for an unconditional self-surrender, but to see him face to face and to equate him with the Supreme One in an equal status. The *Mahā-nirvāṇa-tantra* shows how the jīva-śiva conquers the greatest divine empire of Parama-Śiva, the Paramount God.

The Tantra-śāstra is the most realistic discipline of life. Everything is real there. The jīva-Śiva is real, the Paramaśiva is real. Even Māyā is real. Reality appears there in the form of

change. The Tantra-śāstra teaches us how to control the primordial human instincts ; how to convert the urge of creation into liberation ; how to achieve supermanhood by controlling the three most powerful energies of Knowledge, Action and Desire into a complete equilibrium, and how to attain the all blissfull immortality of summumbonum making this gross body a temple of God in the form of a transparent alphabetic body and an image-body, (mantra deha and bhāvadeha) other than those of the Linga śarīr and Kāraṇa-śarīra.

The contribution of Tantra-śāstra to Indian Culture

The Tantra-śāstra is the direct representative of the all-round Indian Culture. Indian society represents a compact of various kulācāras or cultures, representing the realistic pattern of disciplined human behaviourism of each and every kula or clan, from the very primitive age. The Tantra-śāstra neither promises an utopian idea of life, nor an imaginary Heaven ; nor curses the realistic mode of the life as it is. The other name of the Tantra-śāstra is the kula-śāstra or the kulamārga. Kula and Akula are the two main divisions of the Kulaśāstra. The term 'Kula' indicates the union of Śiva and Śakti—which evolves into twenty-four or thirty-six elements in the urge of creation and Akula or Anuttara (the thing above par) is Paramount Śiva Himself.

From the very dawn of human civilization so many tribes and clans flocked together in India, lived together happily with their individual Creed, Culture, Rituals and Philosophy and confederated themselves in a single National integrity and uniformity. The Tantra-śāstra is the insignia of those devergent streams of life which made India a single nest, observes Mm. Gopinath Kaviraja., The three stages of the tantrik culture are categorised in three grades, Paśvācara or the animal culture, Vīrācara or the heroic culture, and Divyācāra or the divine culture. The heroic Culture of India advises on one hand to kill an aggressor, physical or mental at the first sight and to mobilize strength on the other hand to remove suffering of all created beings and assure peace and prosperity for all.

Prof. B. K. Sarkar holds that the Tantra-śāstra is the universal Encyclopeadia, which includes in it all branches of knowledge. Prof. S. N. Dasgupta thinks what-so-ever is the best product of Indian Philosophy and Religion, beginning from pre-Vedic and Vedic age, are assimilated in the Tantra-śāstra. A. Avalon, the dedicated

tantrik ascetic and scholar, explaining the mystery of the Tantra-śāstra, says :— "The other name of Supreme Reality is Mahākāla. When the kālacakra (the wheel of Time) is down, the creation starts ; and when it is up, the process of creation stops and rests in a tranquil state (what has been explained by me with diagram in my Studies in Divine Aesthetics and Elements of Indian Aesthetics).

To us every thing is real. Birth and Death are the hide and seek play of the Two-in-One. It is merely a question of appearance and disappearance. Change itself is a systematic process of Reality—what changes sorrows of life into Happiness, transforms poison into nectar, and converts bondage into liberation. This is the bliss of the tantrik life and the finding of the Tantrik Culture.

"duhkhānyapi sukhāyante viṣamapyamṛtāyate /
mokṣāyate ca saṃsāra eṣo mārgo hi śāṅkaraḥ //

PAÑCATANTRA IN PERSIAN AND ARABIC LITERATURE

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Iran and India have had during their long history cultural relations in different aspects. This close relationship leads to the fact that a student of Avesta has to study Sanskrit, a student of Iranian mysticism must know Indian mystical philosophy. In the same way those who work on certain periods of Indian history must be aware of Iranian history and literature. In this way one of the most important styles in Persian poetry bears the name of Indian style—Sabki Hindi. In the present paper I shall deal with one particular point from this vast field namely the importance and the influence of *Pañcatantra* on Persian and Arabic Literature.

This everlasting work is known in Persian and Arabic literature as *Kalila and Dimna* which are the names of the two *jackals* in the book in Sanskrit, Karkaṭa, and Damanaka. The story of the transmission of this book from India to Iran has been recounted in many Persian and Arabic sources, among the most important of which are the Shāhnameh by Firdousī and Thdālibī's History of the Ancient Kings of Iran. In the latter when the author discusses about the reign of Anoushīravān the Sassanian Sovereign, the story of this book is thus told : Anoushiravan had in his service a hundred Greek, Indian and Persian physicians. One among the Persians named, *Burzüyah*, had read in a book that in one of the mountains of India there grew a wonderful plant that gave life to the dead. The physician, keen in finding the plant, asked the King for leave and the King wrote a letter to the King of India to facilitate his search and let the physician go. He travelled to many places and collected many plants, but he did not find what he was looking for. Wondering how to return to the Court of Iran empty handed he asked who the greatest and the wisest physician of India was. He showed an old man from whom he asked as to where the miraculous

plant he sought could be found. The wise man said to him : You have learnt something without going deep into it ; what you read was a secret symbol from the ancients. The mountain means wisemen, plants are their words and the dead are the ignorant people. It means, therefore. that the words of the wise-men give life to the ignorants. Then he said to Burzūyah that those words were kept in a book called Kallila and Dimna, which was in the treasury of the King. This news made Borzuyah happy and he asked the King that out of respect for Anoushīravān the copy be put at his disposal. The King agreed to this on the condition that the physician would only study the book but not copy from it. The physician used to read and memorize and at night he would write this down until it was finished.

Then he returned to Anoushīravān and the King ordered the book to be translated into Pahlavī.

Islamic writers, however, have stated that the physician Burzūyah copied several books in India, but Kallila and Dimna was based on *Pañcatantra* and some chapters from the *Mahābhārata* It should be noted that once this book entered Persian through Pahlavi, it went into Arabic and then into Persian ; and very much later, during the reign of Akbar, both *Pañcatantra* and *Mahābhārata* were translated directly into Persian. And still more recently a translation from Sanskrit into Persian was made by Professor Indusekhar and published by Tehran University Press. Unfortunately the Pahlavi translation of Kalila and Dimna has not reached us, but we know that prior to the Arabic translation, a Syriac translation was made of this work. In about 570 A.D. a priest called Būd made a translation from Pahlavi into Syriac, a unique copy of which was found in 1873 in the Monastry of Mardin and in 1876 it was published with a German translation in Leipzig by Bickell and again republished in 1911 by Schultes in Berlin. Before the discovery of the Mardin copy Sylvestrede Sassi, who published a critical edition of the book in 1816, had doubted the existence of a Syriac translation and thought that possibly Būd was the same as Burzūyah and that the Syriac translation is the same as the Pahlavi and 'Abd Yasū' from whom this information was got, had made a mistake in his catalogue. It must be mentioned that another translation was made from the Arabic into Syriac in the 10th or 11th century A.D. This was published in 1884 in London with an English translation. In the 19th century, another translation into modern Assyrian was made and published in 1895 in Mossel. Also there exists the Hebrew translation by a certain

Rabbi Joel. And a Jew who had converted into christianity translated the book from Hebrew into Latin. This was published in 1887 and it is the source for the Italian, Spanish and German translations. Besides, there are several other Latin translations one from the Spanish which in turn was from the Arabic, and a translation from the Greek which was in turn from the Arabic. The Greek and the Latin translations were published in 1697 in Berlin.

It is not my aim to speak of the various translations of Kallila and Dimna for it has been translated into many languages, even in Ethiopian, Malayasian and Mongolian.

The great Iranian writer Ibn-i-Muqafa translated Kallila and Dimna from Pahlavi into Arabic in the second century A.H. He was successful in this as well as in his other works to adopt the same Pahlavi style in Arabic, the characteristic of which consists of simplicity and conciseness. However, it should be noted that Ibn-i-Muqafa did not only translate the book but also added the chapter called Burzūyah, the Physician. In this chapter Ibn-i-Muqafa shows his tolerance towards other religious beliefs. Due to this fact some Muslim scholars have strongly criticized him and have accused him of wanting to mislead the Muslims. As we know Ibn-i-Muqafa was accused of heresy and executed in 142 A.H. But his Kallila and Dimna has had an everlasting effect on Muslim literature. The first printed edition of this work was made by Sylvestre de Sassy in 1816 and after that it has been printed more than 30 times.

In the life time of Ibn-i-Muqafa or a little later, one Abanal Laḥeqī brought Kallila and Dimna into Arabic poetry. Another translation into Arabic from Pahlavi besides Ibn Muqafa's was made by a certain Abdullah ibn Hilal al Ahvazi. Here mention must be made of the following : Firstly that Kallila and Dimna was put many times into Arabic prose and poetry ; secondly, that many imitations and adaptations were made on the basis of this book.

Now let us have a look at the Persian translations. The oldest of these was made in the fourth century A.H. during the the reign of Nasr ibn Ahmad Samani, by the order of Belamī his Minister. Firdowsi has mentioned this translation in the Shāhnāme. At the same time Rūdakī, the great Persian poet, by the order of the above stated two people turned it into Poetry. Of the first translation no trace is found and of the second only scattered verses in some sources have been gathered. The most important

Persian translation is the one made by Abdual Macali Nasr Ullah Munshi in the sixth century A.H., known as the Kalliah and Dimna ye Bahramshahi. This translation made in Ghaznavi time is mixed with Qoranic verses, Islamic tradition, Arabic and Persian poetry. This work upto the time of Sadī was considered the most popular book of Persian prose. This book was published for the first time in 1228 A.H. and was reprinted many times after that.

A century after Abul Maalī Qanicī Tusī who was in the court of Alauddin Kayqubad in Asia Minor turned Kallilah and Dimnah into poetry, a manuscript copy of which is catalogued as Add 7766 in the British Museum Catalogue of Persian Mss. He had no information about Rudaki's poetical rendering and, therefore, thought himself to be first to do the translation.

The work of Abdul Maali was purified and modified by Hussein Vaiz Kashefi in the 9th century A.H. with the name Anwar -i-Suhaili after Sheikh Ahmad Suhaili, the Minister of Sultan Hussein a descendent of Timur (Tamerlane). Again, this same work on the order of Akbar Shah and by Abul Fazil his Minister, was purified and became entitled Ayar-i-Danish. Further, this work was simplified and called Nigar-i-Danish. Both these works have been published many times in India and in Iran. Time does not allow me to go into more details about the influence of Kallila and Dimna in Persian and Arabic literature. However, I must say that even now fragments and passages of this book are studied in Iranian Schools and Universities and just as an example of this interest a critical edition of the Kallila and Dimna Bahramshahi was prepared by M. Minovi and published in 1345 A.H. Also a detailed study of Kallila and Dimna was published by M. Mahjoub in Tehran in 1349 A.H.

To conclude let me speak of a Qoranic verse which says that a good word is like a good tree with a trunk staying in the earth and its branches going in the sky. This reflects the story of everlasting *Pañcatantra*, with its roots in your country and its growing branches so well spread in our country, and this has remained one of the very best symbols of the close cultural ties between India and Iran.

ORIGIN OF FABLES IN INDIA

Dr. P. N. Kawthekar,
Indore.

Dr. Samuel Johnson has defined a fable[1]. We find a similar version in a Sanskrit work named *Tantropākhyāna.*[2] From these definetions, we can say that a fable is a story of inferior creatures feigned to act as human beings to instruct a moral. Primarily, animals and birds are made characters, and not only they speak like man, but also are wise enough to act with human interest.

We find many a tales of inferior creatures in ancient Indian literature. The Pañcatantra is a great collection of fables[3]. In the *Jātaka,* we find many a fables narrated by Lord Buddha[4]. We read how the lion and the bull were friends, but separated by a cunning jackal.[5] The result is obvious. Both the friends killed each other. Also, we find an account of the ass who has clothed himself in a lion's skin[6]. In the *Mahābhārata* we find Bhīṣma counselling Yudhiṣṭhira on political issues by the medium of fables[7]. Thus, we are amused to find these animals and birds including deer, elephant, crocodile, crane, cat and cock instruct us.

Winternitz has divided the *Jātaka* tales into seven parts of which the first one is the fable.[8] According to him, a fable aims at teaching Nīti, i.e. wordly wisdom. There are many moral narratives of super-human and human characters which teach a moral lesson, but they are parables and we catagorise the stories of jackals and tigers of the Pañcatantra under fables.

The origin of such fables can be traced safely in the folklore of India. The idea regarding the dawn of folklore leads us to say that the history of fables is as old as the story of man himself. India has its own folklore of great antiquity and in the primitive age, people living their village life still were associated with the forest and nature.

Dr. A.B. Keith rightly remarked that 'the closeness in which the Indians lived with nature rendered it possible that the didactic fable should form at an early date a moral feature of village life, and that it should be reflected in literature.'[9] The love of nature and inclination towards retaining the impression of association with animals of primitive age must have been deeply rooted in the mind of the primitive man.

The early stage of the folklore did not primarily consist of moral instructions, when the folk-tales were not regarded as the device to preach a certain dogma or to impart any worldly wisdom. Because, it was the first stage of society in which to tell a story was to amuse each other and these narratives orally transmitted through generations created the great tradition in the folk-literature. They were current among the common people of ancient times and that was common property which was usurped, it is amusing to find, with some purpose by the preachers of a dogma like the Buddhists. The fables found in thet Jātakas narrated by Buddha himself were the treasury of the common people and these tales were adopted as a palatable device to preach some moral among the common people. They made a proper use of popular stories in their language, i.e. Pāli, to gain followers for their religion. Morality or ethics of fables was thus inevitably evolved and this took place only because folk-tales were most popular among the people. Similes and analogies in ancient Indian literature also are associated with nature as well as beasts and birds.

Indo-Āryan life in ancient days was passed in a forest. It was then natural that life in pre-Vedic period should be influenced. It is no wonder, therefore, that the beasts play a prominent and active part in the folk-tales. It is in such tales of primitive Indian life that we can trace the origin of fables in India.

At the dawn of humanity, mythology of great antiquity, gave birth to many forms as Myths, legends, fairy-tales, parables, anecdotes, proverbs, allegories, fictions, historical accounts, personfications and deifications of natural phenomena, and so on. Of these, no fiction was adopted in the Vedas, although we can refer to Saramā's account[11] and birds called Śārṅga[12], and also can cite the story of white dog with other Sārameyas in the *Chāndogyopaniṣad*[13]. The tale of Manu and the fish can be called a fable of ancient time[14].

In the *Ṛgveda*, we come across legends and myths of different type[15]. The legend of Indra and Vṛtra, the dialogue between Purūravas and Urvaśī and many other mythological ballads contain the most ancient form of story literature. However, we cannot call them fables. In fact the Ṛv. is not a compilation of fiction. Legends and myths have got a religious aspect while the fables is originally secular in nature. It is no wonder, therefore, if we do not find any full fable in the Ṛv. which embodies religious aspirations of priestly sages and Ṛṣis.

It is interesting to note that the early preachers of the Vedic hymns, interested in rituals and religious discourses, did not, naturally pay attention to the popular fictions of common people. They needed no device to propogate their religion like the Buddhists, because their religion was not a new one with a reactionary spirit or they did not think it necessary to popularise it among the hostiles that were against the ritual system. And the Vedic Ṛṣis have described Vedic deities that appeared personally to take their oblations, hence obviously they did not believe in fictions to support their thoughts and principles. They only adopted the events that occured in the Itihāsa in the forms of myths and legends.

The story of Saramā who was sent by Indra to find out the cows stolen by the Paṇis is an interesting account to know the historical background. But in the Ṛv. there is no mention of Saramā as Devaśunī (Divine bitch) as supposed by later commentators like Sāyaṇa.[16] In fact, in the Ṛv. She is referred to as the canine species. She is Indra's messenger, Dūtī. Yāska refers to her as the bitch of Gods[17] and other commentators follow him. But the *Bṛhaddevatā* does not call her śunī anywhere[18]. On the other hand, the same work counts her among the female seers. However, the dog is found in the Ṛv in the form of two brindled hounds of Yama called Sārameya and the goat and the boar have also been mentioned[19]. The tortoise, the monkeys and frogs appear in the Ṛv[20]. The frog-hymn is interpreted by Max Mueller as a satire on Brāhmaṇas and as the mateorological phenomena by Bergaine[21].

Even birds have been mentioned in Ṛv. The Soma is always compared with the bird Śyena and Garutmat is also mentioned. Similarly owls and pigeons are messengers.

These and other references from the Rv. only prove that the survival of pre-historic notions is unconsciously recorded in the most ancient monuments of the Vedic literature. The zoological

mythology reflected in the Ṛv. shows the primitive conception that man does not differ essentially from beasts. Even in the later period when lord Buddha flourished, we can trace the same tendency of Buddhism.[22] We come across a creed of pity and anticarnivorism for all beings, which may be called as the later development of the very survival of the primitive notions due to associations. The influence of aborigins gave us the idea of a belief in beings of the were-wolf orders, as we have the man-tigers and the Nāgas i.e. human beings in appearance but in reality serpents.[23].

Some of the western scholars have already discussed the survival of totemism or belief in descent of human race or of individual tribes or families from animals or plants.[24] They have tried to prove that the basis of the refined culture was the primitive culture. Although the names of Kaśyapa, Matsyas, Kauśikas and other Ṛṣis are given to prove the totemism in the Ṛv, there remained doubt about the theory with regard to the names in the Ṛv.[25]

It is, however, true that the primitive people in India also were closely associated with animals and they made references in their recorded folk-lore in the forms of similes, analogies, parables, proverbs and riddles. The animals or birds found in the similes prove to be most adequate to convey the idea of the speaker and thus later on they have secured a prominent place in the folktales which are recorded afterwards and which we call fables.

Some scholars following the Distributionist School of anthropology have tried to collect the folk-tales of different countries. In America the varients of one tale are being collected and an archtypal tale is to be made on the basis of history and geography. The Diffusionist theory believes in the geographical limits and the tribal culture and the travelling of tales from one place to the other. The scholars of anthropology like Frang Boas analyse the tale into the motif, plot and the occasion and to search the origin of folk-tales in the world, the anthropologists have tried to find out the common motifs in the different tales of various countries.[26]

I believe that there were many centres where the birth of animal tales took place. But the question of certain fables is somehow different from mere animal tales of various tribes. The parallels are found in certain fables of different countries. Some Jātaka tales are found in different countries not with their motifs only, but with morals too. And the device of moral as a part of a tale goes back to the Ṛv. and the Jātaka.

The Indianist theory proves that the fables migrated from India to other countries, although this was sometimes challenged, but not uprooted by any scholar. Theodore Benfey is of the opinion that all the folk-tales and traditional narratives travelled from India to Europe in the past through translations.[27] We are of course, not in a position to say so for all the tales. But it is true that Indian moral tales and falk-tales migrated from India to the West. The fable of Bidpai is the example. In early days these tales were carried by the Jews, who were the constant roamers and traders to Europe from India. Even the Spanish, moors and the Greeks were closely connected with the East and then the Cruisaders went to Europe with such tales from India. This migration of fables to foreign countries has been discussed by Max Muller.[28] Andrew Lang emphasizes that the tales migrated through the Gipsies. The origin of these stories is found in the Buddhist stories, although it creared a stir among the schlors of folk-lore. In fact animal tales without any moral teaching belong to pre-historic period and we can agree with the Anthropologists who believe in the principle of similar development of culture at one time in the different regions of the world. But the most ancient fables which are found in various countries with their ancient motifs migrated from India, first through the traders and then through the Buddhists.

Rhys Davids has also proved that the Western stories were borrowed from the Buddhist one. And further he remarked it is the oldest most complete and the most important of folklore extant.

Max Muller again expressed his views on the Indianist theory as follows :—

"I was formerly more doubtful as to the Eastern origin of the fables of Aesopus and Phaedrus ; but following up the subject with a perfectly unprejudiced mind I have become more and more inclined to admit that India was the soil that produced them originally, and that the principle creatures in these fables and the whole surroundings, are Eastern rather than Western. We know very little about the origin of fables in Greece. The only things we are told is, that a stranger, Aesopus by name was held responsible for the most of them".

Then what should we think of the famous fables of Aesop ? He is known as a great Greek fabulist. But Rhys Davids has given six stories first and points out that Aesop is mentioned in the classical literatures as a teller of fables. Socretes, as Plato says, was busy while in imprisonment in turning the stories, of Aesop

into verse. Aristophane refer to him and Aristotle and Lucian quote his fables. On this ground the classical historians fix the date of Aesop in the sixth century B. C. However, some modern critics have denied his existance altogether. But it is admitted that Aesop existed, but either his work was not in the written form or has been lost.

It is interesting to note that the first collection of so-called Aesop's fables was published in the 15th century on the basis of Planude (14th century). But the fables of Jātakas had already reached Europe before the time of Planudes whose stories have been traced to the Indian source. Even the fables (1st Century B.C.) and Phaedrus are derived from thc Buddhist stories. Moreover, the name of Aesopus in Greek is adopted from the word Ethopus i.e., person who comes from Ethiopis. It leads us to believe that this wise man had gone to Greece from the East, most probably from India, because, some ancient Indian stories were in his stock. As his name Ethopus denotes, he was ugly (Scoarthy) and must be one of the slaves from the Anaryas of India.

Thus, we have come to the same point that in India the secular story literature was the treasure of common people and this popular story was thought to be the best device of conveying the thoughts by the Buddhists.

The fables, as we have already seen, has its origin in the universal impulse of man to express their thoughts in images, and are also derived from the often-used metaphors, analogies and similes. It is a widely diffused form of literature. In the primitive stage it was told simply for its own sake and was innocent of any moral teaching like other fairy tales of an amusing character. The East, the land of myths and legends, is the natural home of the fables, and India was the birth-place in the oldest form of these tales.

The Indian fable, which was current among the common people and of which the glimpses apreared in the Saṁhitā literature was recorded for the first time, in the form of legend of Manu and Matsya in the Brāhmaṇa literature. Then it was clearly included in the Jātaka before the 3rd century B.C. This has been proved from the inscriptions of the Stūpa of Bharhut and Sānchi. The fables of Indian folklore were adopted by the Buddha in the 6th century B.C. and they were recorded in the Tripiṭaka in the first council of Buddha's followers soon after his death in Rajagarh. The fable of

a buffalo with a mischievous monkey (No. 278) is represented in a Cave Temple of Ajanta. Even in American soil we can find many a tale of Indian origin which travelled through Africa.

The Mahābhārata also, which follows the Aryan tradition records the ancient fables. The Śānti Parvan is full of moral tales, some of them are 'true fables'. We read the fables of tiger and the jackal, the Kapota-Vyādha, 'Gṛdhra-Gomay' and the Haṃsa-Kākīya (Karṇa 141).

The tradition in the Mahābhārata is the development of the Vedic and Brāhmanic analogies like Sauparṇa Dṛṣtāntas, Dvā suparnā sayujā.

These seeds of the fable developed further in the later period. Even the proverbs and Nyāyas like *Aja-kṛ pāṇtya* etc., example of which are found even in the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, lead us to the Indian fable. Manu and the author of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa did not ignore the Biḍāla-Vrata. The oldest form of the Pañcatantra was the real collection of the most ancient Indian fables of a secular character. Thus we find that the Indian fables were used as the device of preaching a dogma or a moral or political wisdom.

Notes

1. Lives, Gay, II p. 283.
2. S. Shastri, 1938, Trivendrum.
3. Edgerton : Pancatantra Reconstructed, Harvard.
4. V. Fousboll. I-VII, 1877-1897.
5. Jataka No. 349.
6. Jataka No. 189.
7. M. Bh. Śanti Parvan, 111.
8. History of Indian Literature, Calcutta, 1933, II, p. 125.
9. Classical Sanskrit Literature, p. 102.
10. Winternitz : History, II, p. 114.
11. Rv. 10.108.
12. Ibid. 1.32.
13. Chāndogya I-12.
14. Satapatha Br. 8.1. 1-6.

15. J. Dowson : A Classical Dicionary, 8th Edn., Preface p. V. ; RV. 10. 108 ; Macdonell : Vedic Mythology, p. 151.

16. RV. 10.108.2.

17. Nirukta : II.25.

18. Bṛhaddevata 2.82.84.

19. Macdonell : Mythology, 151 ; Hopkins : American Journal of Philology, 1895, 154-5.

20. History, pp. 594-5.

21. La Religen Vedique, I, 292.

22. Mrs. Rhys Davids : Birth of Indian Psychology, Ch. XVIII-365.

23. Vājasaneya Samhitā, 30-8 ; Śatapatha, 13.2.4.11 ; Āśvalāyana Gr. Sutra 3.4.

24. Macdonell : Mythology p. 152 ; S. C. Mitra : JBORS. XIV, pt. III.

25. Andrew Lang : Secrets of Toteism, 1905 Hopkins. Proceedings of the American Oriental Saciety, 1894. p. CLIT.

26. Thompson Stitch : Motif Index of Golk-Literature, I, 1955 Bloomington.

27. T. Benfey : Pañcatantra 1859, Preface.

28. Chips from a German Workshop, IV, 1875 ; Last Essays, XVII.

SANSKRIT AND WORLD FABLE LITERATURE

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The origin of the fable-literature

The children of the world are interested in reading or hearing the tales, particularly dealing with animal fables, in which the beasts and birds behave, think and talk like human beings.

In ancient India, the learned men were inclined to choose fables, which create interest in learning and increase the knowledge of the students.

The student of Indian literature will find well-known tales from Pañcatantra and Mahābhārata as well as the strange myths of early Ṛgveda[1].

India is indeed the home of story-telling. It was from here that the Persians learned the art and passed it on to the Arabs. From the middle East, the tales found their way to constantinople and Venice and finally appeared in the pages of Boccaccio, Chaucer and La Fontaine.

It was not until Benfey wrote his famous introduction to Pañcatantra that we began to realise what a great debt the Western tales owed to the East.

The great advance made in the study of Sanskrit has shown that incidents in stories well known to every European child existed in India over two thousand years ago.

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1. n. m. Penzer : The ocean of Story Vol. I, Introduction, p. 34.

All tails therefore, in which the animals play the part of human beings are Indian, in form at any rate, if not in content[2].

The East, the land of myth and legend, is the natural home of the fable, and Hindustan was the birth place, if not of the original of these tales, at least of the oldest shape in which they still exist[3].

We have to admit that the beast-fable did not begin with AESOP or in Greece at all. We have in fact to go to East and to look to India and borrow in the tales within tales of Hitopadesha to get an idea how old the antiquity of the fable actually is[4].

What is at present known, then with respect to the so called AESOP's fables, amounts to this that none of them are really AESOPean at all, that the collection was first formed in the middle age, that a large number of them has been traced back, in various ways, to our buddhist Jātaka book, and almost the whole of them are probably derived in one way or another from Indian sources[5].

It is extremely likely that fables, in particular animal fables, had their principal origin in India[6].

Generally an Indian student today comes to know about AESOP's tales in his childhood, then he reads or hears the tales of Pañcatantra. The scholars inquired about the originality of fables and they found out the source. The common language of the ancient fables was Sanskrit, which was a spoken language at that time. The style and description was simple and poetic to create the interest for children.

This Book of Counsel read and you shall see, Fair Speech and Sanskrit lore and policy'.

Sir Edvined Arnold put the first verse in his 'Proverbial wisdom' from the Ślokas of the Hitopadeśa. In the preface to the 'Book of good counsels : Hitopadeśa', he has expressed his views :

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2. I. G. N. Keith : Falconer, Kalilah and Dimnah Introduction p. 13.
3. Articles on Fables : Encyclopaedia Britanica, 11th edition.
4. Ernest Rhys : Fables, AESOP and others : introduction.
5. T. W. Rhys Davids : Buddhist birth stories : introduction.
6. Maxmuller : Chips from a German workshop. Vol. IV, p. 412.

The Hitopadeśa is work of high antiquity and extended popularity. The prose is doubtless as old as our own era but the intellectual verses and proverbs compose a selection from writings of an age extremely remote.

The Hitopadeśa may thus be fairly styled 'The father of all fables ; for from its numerous translations have probably come AESOP and Pilpay, and in latter days Reineke Fuchs : originally compiled in Sanskrit, it was rendered in the sixth century A.D. into Persian. From the Persian it passed in A.D. 850 into the Arabic, and thence into Hebrew and Greek.

In its own land, it obtained a wide circulation. The Emperor Akbar impressed with the wisdom of its maxims and the ingenuity of its apologues, commanded the works of translating it to his own Vazir, Abdul Fazal. That minister accordingly put the book into a familiar style, and published it with explanations, under the title of the criterion of wisdom. The emperor had also suggested the abridgment of the long series of Ślokas, wnich here and there interrupt the narrative and the Vazir found this advice sound and followed it.

To this day, in India, the Hitopadeśa under its own or other names (as the Anveri Suhaili) retains the delighted attention of young and old and has some representative in all the Indian vernaculars.

The fable literature has spread all over the world, but the young generation has lost the interest in studying Sanskrit, which is found unfamiliar and difficult. When the Sanskrit was in use as a spoken language, the syntax was simple and the expression was in a poetic style. The poetry was the soul of the speech.

We shall have to try to bring the same simplicity of expression in order to create the interest of the young generation.

The animals in ancient literature

"Fish, that didst out swim the flood ;
Tortoise, where on earth hath stood :
Boar, who with thy teeth held'st high ;
The world, that mortals might not die"[7].

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7. Sir Edwin Arnold : The Indian Song of Songs. Compare

मत्स्यादिभिरवतारैरवतारवतावताद् वसुधाम्
नारायण परिपाल्यो भवता भवतापभीतोऽहम् ।

—आद्यश्री शंकराचार्य

The incarnation of Vishnu, the god was found in animal forms. While discussing the Avatar theory, Dr. Annie Besant, raised the question about the theory and gave an answer in her lectures[8].

He then manifests not as Avatāra, but such manifestations come from him who is the God, the Spirit, of evolution, who evolves all forms.

He lives in every form, moulding it as it will bear the moulding, shaping it as it yields itself to his impulse, binding himself, limiting himself in order that his universe may grow, Lord of eternal life and bliss, dwelling in every form.

We keep a portion of our daily meal which should be offered to a cow, a crow and other small insects ants etc. This is not a kind of animal worship in its natural form, but we worship the God, all pervading God.

"During the mohenjo Daro period, Śiva was supposed to be the lord of animals, in the sense that the animals, of whom he must have been called the lord, form the Lancchanas of the various tribes. Hence Śiva was the lord of tribes[9]."

In the Ṛgveda the bull is identified with Agni, Indra, Dyaus and Rudra. Sun is described as the 'Bull that impregnates all cows[10]. Another stanza runs as follows :

High on the forehead of the Bull, one chariot-wheel you ever keep. The other round the sky revolves[11].

The Mahābhārata relates a story that ; 'Prajāpati offered that bull to Śiva to appease him, as he had become enraged on account of the fact that the cows created by Prajāpati were of a similar colour as his own mahādeva being pleased made the bull both his vehicle aad a device on his banner. It is further said that Śiva is designated वृषभध्वज mainly on account of this[12].

8. Dr. Annie Besant : Avataras : pages 67, 42, 37.

9. A. P. Karmarkar : The religions of India : Part I.

10. त्रयः केशिनः ऋतुथा विचक्षते संवत्सरे वपत एक एषाम् ।
विश्वमेको अभिचष्टे शचीभिर्ध्राजिरेकस्य ददृशेन रूपम् ॥
—ऋग् १,१६४,४४

11, न्यध्न्यस्य मूर्धनिचक्रं रथस्य येमयुः ।
परि धामन्यदीयते । ऋक् १,३०,१९

12. Mahābhārata, Anuśāsana Parva, canto, 112, 30.

The tiger is also represented on the seals of mohenjo Daro. The tiger becomes a vehicle of the mother Goddess. Śiva is represented as sitting in his ascetic form on a tiger-skin.

The lion is also represented on one of the mohenjo Daro seals. He becomes a vehicle of Pārvatī.

The peacock is represented in the finds at mohenjo Daro. The bird becomes the vehicle of Karitikeya and Sarasvati. It is considered as a sacred animal. We take it now as the national bird.

There are also other animals whose representations or remains occur in the Indus Valley finds, e.g. the clove, buffalo, ass, goat and eagle or Garuḍa. Garuḍa becomes the vehicle of Viṣṇu and Hamsa becomes the vehicle of Brahmā.

In the *Jātakas* or the birth-stories of the Buddha the animals play an important part. In Buddhistic sculpture and architecture, we find the animals as characteristic human beings.

In practically every Tibetan temple, a vivid pictorial representation of the six realms of the Sāṁsārika World can be found, which is called the Tibetan wheel of life[13]. The six realms are represented as a wheel, whose six segmants depict the six main types of worldy existence. These forms of existence are conditioned by the illusion of separate self hood, which craves for all that serves to satisfy or to maintain this 'Ego', and which despises and hates whatever opposes this craving.

These three basic motives or root causes of unenlightened existence proceed from the nave of the wheel of rebirths and are depicted in the form of these three animals, symbolising greed. hatred and delusion . a red cock stands for passionate desire and attachment (राग) a green snake is the embodiment of hatred (द्वेष) and a black hog symbolises the darkness of ignorance and ego-delusion (मोह), the blind urge that drives the beings round and round in the unending cycle of births and deaths.

The three animals are biting each other's tails and are linked in such a way that they form a circle, because greed, hatred and

13. Lama Anagarika Govinda : Foundations of Tibeten mystism p. 237.

delusion eondition each other and are inseparably connected. They are the ultimate consequenses of ignorance (अविद्या).

The fables of the Jātakas were used in order to propagate Buddhist, teachings but the actions of the animals excite the interest of children.

It is mentioned in the purānas, that, when Veda Vyāsa was narrating the Bhāratastory, all the mild as well as the wild animals were gathered together to hear the story, forgetting their natural sense of fear and cruelty.

It is narrated in Rāmāyaṇa that when the seer Viśvāmitra left the hermitage, where he lived for many years, other seers and monks of the āśrama went with him a long distance to bid farewell to him. At that time the animals also followed him to say good bye. They also felt Sadness like the human beings, on account of the Separation of that kind and noble sage[14].

The animals behave like the human beings in the fables ; not only that ; they also take interest in nearing the fables and they also feel like the children.

In the beginning of 'the Ocean of stories ; it is narrated, how the Bṛhat Kathā of Guṇāḍhya was written in paiśācī language, how the author went to the forest and began to burn page after page of the book in the fire, after reading it out. There the animals of the forest were gathered together to hear the great story. When the poet was narrating the story and burning it in the fire, the animals were calmly hearing it. They had left to take food. They were annoyed at the burning of the pages and tears were flowing from their eyes. The animals were deers, boars, buffaloes etc[15].

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14. तं व्रजन्तं मुनिवरमन्वगादनुसारिणाम् ।
शकटीशतमात्रं तु प्रयाणे ब्रह्मवादिनाम् ।
मृगपक्षिगणाश्चैव सिद्धाश्रमनिवासिनः ।।
अनुजग्मुर्महात्मानो विश्वामित्रं तपोधनम् ।
निवर्तयामास ततः सर्षिसंघ सर्पाक्षणः ।। वाल्मीकिरामायण १, ३१, १७-१८

15. तस्मिश्च तां कथां दिव्यां पठत्यपि दहत्यपि ।
परित्यक्त तृणाहारा: श्रृण्वन्तः साश्रु लोचना: ।
आसन्नभ्येच्य तत्रैव निश्चला बद्धमण्डलाः ।
निखिलाः खलु सारंगवराहमहिषादयः ।
तत् समेत्य निराहारा श्रृण्वन्ति प्राणिनोऽखिलाः ।।

कथासरित्सागर १,८,२१,२२,२६

It is mentioned in the Mahābhārata that Bhīṣma gave Yudhiṣṭhira the political instructions in which he had mentioned the examples of animals. There is a well known incident in the play of kālidāsa. When Śakuntalā was leaving the hermitage, the young one of a deer was annoyed much, knowing that she would leave the place[16].

The seers aud forest dwellers were very much intimate with the birds and beasts and they also found the kindness and love of the sages and seers.

Pañcatantra as *world fable literature*

The pancatantra is, without doubt, one of the world's most famous books and has been read and loved by countless generations through the ages[17].

Some idea of the enormous spread of the pañcatantra can be obtained from the fact that there are known to exist over two hundred different versions of it, in over fifty languages. It reached Europe in the eleventh century, and before 160 A.D. existed in Greek, Latin, Spanish, Italian, German, English, Old Slavonic and czech.

The home of the *Pañcatantra is* unknown. Hertel would put it in Kashmir, while Edgerton inclines to favour the South, the South-West of India.

'The work was written in Sanskrit and was in all probability intended to serve as a kind of poetical *vade mecum*.

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16. मधुद्रोहं दुहेद् राष्ट्रं भ्रमरा इव पादपम् ।
वत्सापेक्षी दुहेच्चैव स्तनांश्च न विकुट्टयेत् ।
जलौकावत् पिषेत् राष्ट्रं मृदुनैव नराधिपः ।
व्याघ्रीव च हरेत् पुत्राम् संदशेन्न च पीडयेत् ॥
यथा शल्यकवानाखुः पदं धूनयते सदा ।
अतीक्ष्णेनाभ्युपायेन तथा राष्ट्रं समापिषेत् ॥
महाभारत, शान्तिपर्व अ० ८८, श्लो० २-६

17. N.M. Penzar : The Ocean of Stories :
Volume V, Appendix 1, the Pañcatantra.

The original Sanskrit text of the *Pancatantra* is lost, and so are many of its immediate descendants. We must also remember that the *Bṛhat Kathā* of Guṇāḍhya is lost.

With regard to the number of recensions emanating from the original text, opinions are divided. Hertel believes there are only two : *Tantrākhyāyikā*, and what he calls 'K' archetype of all other versions. He would trace both to Kashmir. Edgerton, on the other hand, thinks it possible to establish four independent streams of *Pañcatantra*-tradition : *Tantrākhyāyikā*, Southern *Pañcatantra*, the *Bṛhatkathā* and the Pahlvi versions.

There is another very important version derived from the same text as the Nepalese the well known *Hitopadeśa*, or 'Friendly Advice'. It contains not only *Pañcatantra* material, but stories from other works of similar nature.

'Although the *Hitopadeśa* is specially connected with Bengal, where it probably originated, its popularity soon spread throughout India and migrated west wards. Of the numerous editions which appeared in the nineteenth century, the best are those of Schlegel (1829) Peter Peterson, (Bombay 1887) and Maxmullar (London 1864). The work was translated into many European languages, the chief English ones being those by Wilkins, Sir W. Jones, Johnson and Sir Edvin Arnold.

The Pañcatantra and the 'Fables of *Bidpai*'

N.M. Penzer, the editor of the 'Ocean of story, mentions in the notes, Vol. V., Chapter LX, page 41, as follows :

'Here begins the *Pancatantra*, better known in England through its various recensions, under such titles as, 'The Fables of Pilpay or Bidpai, Kalilah and Dimnah, Lights of Conopus, the Morale Philosophic of Doni, etc. It is given here by Somadeva practically in its entirely, although not as a consecutive whole, but with occasional interruptions due to the insertion of a number of short stories having no connection with it whatever.

In all the early versions of *Pañcatantra* there is an introduction relating how the 'Five books' were told by a wise Brahmin as a means of instilling knowledge into three desultory Princess. Somadeva omits this remark and makes the chief minister, Gomukha, introduce the collection simply with the words :

Even in the case of animals prudence produces success, not valour. In proof of it hear this story about the lion and the bull and other animals[18].

The ocean of story, or to give its full Sanskrit title 'Kathā Sarit Sāgar' is for its size, the largest collection of stories extant in the world.

The book may be regarded as an attempt to Present as a single whole the essence of that rich Indian imagination which had found expression in a literature and art stretching back nearly two thousand years before the christian era.

In the first taranga, Somadeva gives the legendary history of the Book showing how it was related in turn by Śiva, Puṣpadanta, Kāṇabhūti, Guṇāḍhya and Sātavāhana.

There were two works based on the lost *Bṛhatkathā* ; *Bṛhatkathā mañjarī* and *Kathā*-Sarit sāgara, both contain versions of *Pañcatantra* and, as in other cases, it is Somadeva who retains the more complete work.

Thus it seems probable that the two versions here considered are the out come of a double translation, In spite of this and of the fact that both versions were abbreviated, in the verses quite a large portion of the original appears to have been preserved. This is doubtless due to the fact that Paiśācī-Prākṛt is closely allied to Sanskrit and when it was retranslated into Sanskrit, there would have many words exactly corresponding to the lost Sanskrit original.

Sanskrit literature with two phases.

It was stated above that the origin of the world fable literature is found in India and Sanskrit was the medium of the literature in ancient time.

Pāṇini, the grammarian, has treated Sanskrit in its two phases : Chandas and Bhāṣā. Chandas is Vedic Speech and Bhāṣā, common, spoken Sanskrit.

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18. तिरश्चामपि हि प्रज्ञा श्रेयसे न पराक्रमः ।
तथा च शृण्विमां सिंहवृषभादिगतां कथाम् ॥
—कथासरित्सागर, लम्बक १०, तरंग ४, श्लोक-११

The Vedic Speech is considered the holy divine speech. In the same manner the ancient peoples of the world ascribed their speech to the Gods[19]. Egyptians had their sacred writings : writings of the words of the Gods ; often kept in a house of sacred writings. The Egyptians use the term : *NW-ntr* for the speech of the Gods[20]. Indeed the term 'NW' is meant for Deva and 'ntr' for mantra. Thus the Vedic term देव-मन्त्र might be the same as न्ह-न्त्र in Egyptian language.

Homer, the ancient Greek Poet, had already considered the two parts of language, the language of Gods and of men[21].

While treating the vibrations of sound and secret of the speech, Lama Anagarika says :

The secret of this hidden power of sound or vibration, which forms the key to the riddles of creation and of creativeness, as it reveals the nature of things and of phenomena of life had been well understood by the series of olden times, the Riṣis who inhabited the slopes of the Himalayas, the magi of Iran, the adepts of mesopotamia, the priests of Egypt, and the mystics of Greece-to mention only those of whom tradition has left some traces[22].

The idea of creative sound was continued in the teachings of the Logos, which were partly absorbed by early christianity, as we can see from the gospel of St. John, which begins with the mysterious words : 'In the beginning was the word, and word was with God and the word was God...and the word was made flesh'.

If these profound teachings, which were about to link up Christianity with Gnostic Philosophy and with the traditions of the East, had been able to maintain their influence, the universal message of Christ would have been saved from the pitfalls of intolerance and narrow mindedness.

But the knowledge of the creative sound lived on in India. It was further developed in the various yoga systems and found its last retirement in Buddhism.

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19. O.S. Taraporvala Elements of the science of language P. 10.
20. S.A.B. mercer, The religion of Ancient Egypt. P. 12.
21. Ramsay ; Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization. P. 244—300
22. Lama Anagarika Govinda :

—Foundation of Tibetan mystisism

It is mentioned in Vedas that the speech is the production of Vāja, the divine strength. The speech is further divided in four parts : the three parts are included in different spheres of the word, and the fourth one is in the animals. In this way a learned scholar speaks both the forms : divine as well as human speech'[23].

For this speech, the term 'Sanskrit' was not necessary at that time. The prominent terms : Divine (दैवी) and Human (मानुषी) were in common use. The divine speech was spoken at the time of performing Sacrifices, where as the human speech was restricted. The human speech was called व्यावहारिकी, the practical one, the term Bhāṣā was used for the human speech.

Afterwards, when other languages like Paisācí, Prākṛt, Apabhraṁśa etc. came into common use, the term 'Sanskrit' was introduced for both the divine and practical speech.

संस्कृत भाषिण: : The speakers in Sanskrit—the term is used by Maskarin, the commentator of Gautama Dharma Sūtra[24].

In the Rāmāyaṇa it is narrated that when Hanuman visited Sītā, he decided to speak in Sanskrit, which was spoken by human beings[25].

We should know that, 'All language is primarily spoken and only secondarily written down. Real life of language is in the mouth and ear[26].

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23. वाग् वै वाजस्यं प्रसवः। सा वाग् चतुर्धाव्यभवत्। एषु लोकेषु त्रीणि, पशुषु तुरीयम्। या दिवि सा वृहति सास्तनयित्नौ। या अन्तरिक्षे सा वाते सा वामदेव्ये। या पृथिव्यां साग्नौ सा रथन्तरे। या पशुषु तस्या यद् अतिरिच्यते तां ब्राह्मणे न्यदधुः। तस्माद् ब्राह्मण उभे वाचौ वदति दैवीं च मानुषीं च करोति वाचावीर्यं य एवं वेद -काठकसहिता १४,५

तस्माद् ब्राह्मण उभयीं बाचं वदति, याच देधानां याच मनुष्याणाम्।
—निरुक्त १३, ८

स यदि पुरा मानुषीं वाचं व्याहरेत्, वैष्णवीमृचं वा यजुर्वा जयेत्॥
—शतपथ १,७,४,२०

24. श्रोत्रियान् वाग्रूप वयः शीलान्—गौतमधर्मसूत्र
—१५, ९ वाक्सम्पन्नान्-संस्कृतभाषिणः मस्करीभाष्य

25. वाचं चोदाहरिष्यामि मानुषीमिह संस्कृताम्॥
—वाल्मीकि रामायण सुन्दरकाण्ड ३०,१७

26. Otto Jesperson.

Śaunak mentions in *Bṛhaddevata* that whatever the sentence used in Vaidika, should be changed into practical one[27].

Bharata has mentioned the term Sanskrit in his Nāṭyaśāstra[28] and Vararuci also mentioned the same term in his Prākṛta Prakāśa. Bhartṛhari quotes a verse from Mahābhārata, where the Vāk divine. 'वेदमयी दिव्या वाग्' is mentioned[29].

Manu and the Fish : the first fable of the world.

It is generally understood that the fables were only meant to create the interest of children, in order to develop their common sense and the practical knowledge.

This is the reason why the fables of *Pañcatantra* play an important part. Some research scholars trace the original source of fables in Mahābhārata, practically the fables of Anuśāsana Parvan.

I have tried here to find out the fable characteristics in the Vaidika legends, where the animals behave like human beings They talk with human tongue, give the instructions like Gods and guide the man.

In this respect 'Manu and the Fish' is the first fable of the world fable literature. It plays a very important part in the religious history of the world. This well known story is first narrated in Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa.

In Zand Avesta, the narration of the great deluge is mentioned There it is told that, Naoh received a message from God about the deluge which would take place.

In the same manner, 'Nuh received the message from God, as mentioned in the holy bible. It is also narrated that the Fish had protected Nuh from the flood.

The tradition is preserved amongst many other peoples and nations. The Babylonian-account has many similarities with the Indian : 'The Fish God Ea gives a warning of the coming danger to Uita Napishtim, the Babylonian Noah'. It also acts as the saviour and announces the doom to Napishtim. It appears after the flood to Napishtim as the Fish does to Manu and reveals it identity[30].

27. यद यत् स्यात् धान्दसं वाक्यं तत् तत्कुर्यात्तुलौक्किकम् ।
—बृ० दे० २,१०१
28. एवं तु संस्कृतं पाठ्यं मया प्रोक्तं समासतः । शेषः संस्कृतात्-प्राकृतप्रकाश १,१८
—ना० शा० १७,१
29. अनादिनिधना नित्या वागुत्सृष्टा स्वयंभुवा । भर्तृहरि
30. A.P. Karmarkar : Religions of India, part I page 156.
Peake : The Flood page 25.

Thus the 'Fish and Flood' legend plays a very important part in the history of the whole world. The legend also creates an interest of children, when they read or hear the words : 'Fish ...grew and grew and grew.' In the same manner the dialogue of Manu and the Fish in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa has the characteristics of the fablic-charm.

In Ṛgveda (8, 67) the seer named matsya Sammada Prayed to Aditi, the goddess in order that she might release him from the net of a Fisherman[31]. The seer is not a human being, but a king of fishes. The fish prays that: 'Oh yea, Goddess Aditi, I address you ; who give us all happiness. We pray you for our benefit. Oh Goddess, you protect us on all sides, we are caught in the net of a fisherman, when we were moving in the depth of water you keep it in your mind that the fisherman may not hunt our children and family.

'You know well that we are innocent-animals so you release us to move afar in the water. You protect my children to live for a longer life'.

The prayer of the fish signifies the original characteristic of a fable-type. A fable of three fishes is narrated in the *Mahābhārata*[32] and the *Pañcatantra* has the same fable. 'The story of a king Matsya, who is said to have been born from the womb of a fish with a daughter Matsya Gandhā Satyavati is told in Mahābhārata[33].

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31. उपत्वामदिते मह्यहं देव्युपह्वे । सुमृळीकामभिष्टये ॥८,६७,१०
यर्षि दीने गभीर आँ उग्रपुत्रे जिघां सतः । मा कि स्तोकस्य नोरिषत् ॥११
अनेहो न उरु व्रज उरुचि विप्रसर्तवे । कृधि लोकाय जीवसे ॥८,६७,१२

32. अनागतविधाता च प्रत्युत्पन्नमतिश्च यः ।
द्वावेव सुखमेधेते दीर्घसूत्री विनश्यति ॥
म० शान्ति० अध्याय १०४

33. तत्राद्रिकेति विख्याता ब्रह्मशापाद् वराप्सराः ।
मीनभावमनुप्राप्ता बभूव यमुनाचरी ।
कदाचिदपि मत्सीं तां बबन्धुर्मत्स्यजीविनः ।
मासे च दशमे प्राप्ते वदा भरतमत्तम ।
उज्जहुरुदरात् तस्याः स्त्रीं पुमांसं च मानुषम् ।
स मत्स्यो नाम राजासीद् धार्मिकः सत्यसंगरः ॥
सा कन्या दुहिता तस्या मत्स्या मत्स्यसगन्धिनी ।
महाभारत, आदिपर्व अध्याय ६३, श्लोक ४८-६७

King Śibi and a dove : the fable in original form.

The well known tale of the king Śibi, who had offered his flesh and finally all his body to the hawk to protect a dove which had flown to him for shelter is originally found in Mahābhārata.

This is believed to be Buddhistic in origin, but the idea is very old both in the East and in Europe, where it turns up in many forms and in Shakespear's well known borrowed tale of the pound of flesh.

According to the Jātaka tales, Gautama Buddha gave his flesh to the hawk as Śibi in a former state of existance'. It is told of many other persons.

M. Leveque connects this story with that of Philaman and Baucis and compares how the Persian hero Hatimtai cuts a slicl of flesh from his own thigh to feed a Wolf, which was in pursuit of a milch-doe.

The voice of a bird is considered 'Śakuna' : a good sign in Vedic literature. The word 'Śakuna' is used for a good fortelling. Poets ovid and wordsworth are inspired by the voice of a bird : 'Thou art a voice and nothing more'—Ovid 'Cuckoo, shall I call the bird or but a wandering Voice—Wordsworth.

With the same poetic feeling, Gritsamada, the Vedic seer was attracted by the voice of a bird. It is narrated that, 'Indra, the God visited the sacrifice of the seer in the form of a bird, which was singing sweetly. The seer prayed to the bird to sing for a good future.

Oh, you bird Śakuni, just like a navigator instructs the vessel to drive in a right path, your voice guides us as it declares the future. Oh you bird, you become a guide for our good future. I pray, none may defeat you[34].

34. कनिक्रदत् जनुषं प्रब्रुवाण इयर्तिवाचम् अरितेवनावम् ।
सुमंगलश्च शकुने भवासि मा त्वा काचिद् अभिभाविश्व्याविदत् ॥
मा त्वा श्येन उदवधीन् मा सुपर्णो मात्वा विददिषुमान्वीरो अस्ता ।
पित्र्यामनु प्रदिशं कनिक्रदत् सुमंगलवो भद्रवादी वदेह ॥२,४२, १-२
उद्गातेव शकुने साम गायसि ब्रह्मपुत्रइव सवनेषु शंससि ।
वृषेव वाजी शिशुमतीपीत्या सर्वतोनः शकुने भद्रमावद ॥
आवदन् त्वं शकुने भद्रमावद तूष्णीमासीनः सुमतिं चिकिध्यिनः ॥
यदुत्पतन् वदसि कर्करिर्यथा बृहद् वदेम विदथे सुवीराः ॥२,४,८

'Oh, yes, no one, a hawk or a Garuḍa, may slaughter you. No one may hunt you go on, you, singing good future.

Oh, you, bird, even as a sāman-priest sings a Sāman, a priest prays with a hymn, you sing a song for us for our prosperity. As a mare runs away to see its folk, you do come swifly to our place to sing. Your voice is sweet just like a musical instrument कर्करि[35].

The animals were honoured and respected by the ancient sages. It is narrated in the upaniṣad that 'when a pupil named Satya-kāma jābāla was dwelling in a forest, the bull, the fire, the swan and the crocodile gave him instructions about Brahman, which have four feet. After receiving the instructions, the pupil approached his teacher. The teacher told him that he was looking like a Brahmavit. He as ked him, 'who has instructed you ? The pupil reported the incident and demanded 'now, I desire to get knowledge from you : the human being'.

It is an interesting incident in the Upaniṣad. At the early morning, the Sage Baka and Maitreya were preparing a lession to chant a song named Sauva Udgītha. At that time a great dog, accompanied by other dogs, approached them one after another making a row and singing the Sama song. The very song belonged to Śvā—the dog, so it is named Sauva Udgītha शौव उद्गीथ[36].

In these narrations, we find a good fable-atmosphere, which is not in any crude or funny form. They play an important part in the Vedic Literature *Saramā* and *Paṇis : a fable of an animaol spy.*

It is a well known fact that the dogs play an important part in the Criminal Investigation Department. The sense of smell of the dogs is very strong and keen that the dogs can find out the

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35. सोऽहं सत्यकामो जाबालोऽस्मि 'सह वर्षंगषं प्रोवास' अथ हैनम्
ऋषभोऽभ्युवाद सत्यकाम ३ इतिब्रह्मणश्च ते पादं ब्रवाणि ।
तमग्निरभ्युवाद ब्रह्मणः सोम्यते पादं ब्रवाणि । तं हंस उपनिपत्य अभ्युवाद
ब्रह्मणः सोम्य ते पादं ब्रवाणि । तं मद्गुरुपनिपत्य अभ्युवाद ब्रह्मणः सोभ्य ते पादं
ब्रवाणि । ब्रह्मविदिव वै सौभ्य भासि कोनुत्वानुशशासेत्यन्ये मनुष्येभ्य इतिभगवान्
त्वेव मे कामे ब्रूयात् ।
—छांदोग्य उपनिषद् ४, ४-६

36. अथातः शौव उद्गीथः तद्ध । बको दाल्भ्योग्लावो वा मैत्रेयः स्वाध्यायमुद्वव्राज ।
तस्मैश्वाश्वेतः प्रादुर्बभूव, तमन्ये श्वान, उपसमेत्य ऊचुः, 'अन्नं नो भगवानागायतु
अशनायाम वा इति । ते ह यथैवेदं षहिष्पवमानेन स्तोष्यभाणाः संरब्धाः सर्पन्ती-
व्येव माससृपुस्ते ह समुपविश्य हिं चक्रुः 'म्रो३मदा३गें३पिषा३भोऽ देवो वरुणः
प्रजापतिः ।
—छांदोज्य उपनिषद् १,१२,१-५

place and criminals. Moreover a dog is a tamed and made a domestic animal, and is very faithful to its master.

Mackay, the writer observes that the dog was one of the domesticated animals at Mohenjo-Daro, which was modelled either in bronze or copper, or in Pottery. While crooke observes that the dogs of Yama probably correspond to the Orthos and Kerberos of the Greeks.

Yama has two dogs named Sārameya. The sons of Saramā, the bitch of the Gods. They have four eyes and they are of different colours. They watch the gate of Yama and guide the dead, the path to Yamaloka[37].

The dog of Varuṇa is named Arjuna Sārameya. He is the guard at the gate of Varuṇa, When sage Vaśiṣṭha reached at the gate, the dog, barking, rushed at the sage. He prayed to it to be calm and then he entered into the house where Varuṇa was dwelling. There is a well known dialogue of Saramā and Paṇis in Ṛgveda, which also creates a fable-interest[38].

It is narrated in *Bṛhaddevatā* that 'Paṇis, had stolen the cow of Bṛhaspati, the Priest of Indra and had kept them in a cave. By the instruction of the Priest, Indra sent Saramā, the bitch of the Gods, to investigate the cows. Saramā crossed a great river named Rasā, reached at Valapura, where the cows were kept. Peṇis talked with Sarmā and tried to make friendship ; but she rejected the proposal of Peṇis and informed Indra who fought with Paṇis and released the cows.

The dialogue between Saramā and Paṇis bears fable characteristics. Paṇis enquire how Saramā approached the place.

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37. अतिद्रव सारमेयौश्वानौ चतुरक्षौ शबलौ साधुना पथा ।
यौ ते श्वानौ यम रक्षितारौ चतुरक्षौ पथिरक्षी नृचक्षसौ ।
ऋग्वेद १०, १४, १०-११

38. यदर्जुन सारमेय दत्तः पिशंग यच्छसे ।
पीव भ्राजन्त ऋष्टयं उपस्रक्वेषु षप्सतो निषुस्वप । ऋग् ८, ५५, २
सस्तु माता सस्तु पिता सस्तु श्वो सस्तु विश्पतिः ।
ससन्तु सर्वे ज्ञातयः सस्त्वयमभितो जनः ।। ऋग् ८, ५५, ५
वरुणस्य गृहान् रात्रौ वसिष्ठः स्वप्नमाचरन् ।
प्रविशेशाथ तं तत्रश्वानदन्नभ्यवर्तत ।
क्रन्दन्तं सारमेयं स धावन्तं दष्टुमुद्यतम् ।
यदर्जुनेतिचद्वाभ्यां सान्त्वयित्वा स सूषुषत् ।।—बृहद्देवता ६, ११-१२

Oh, with what purpose Saramā had reached our place ? It is very difficult to come here. Let us ask. Oh, you Saramā, what do you expect from us ? How did you spend the whole night, how did you cross the river Rasā[39] ?

Saramā replied to them, 'Oh, you Paṇis, I am a messenger of Indra, the God. I have come here with his order to inquire where the cows are kept in your cave. Though I had a great fear to cross the river, I crossed it and approached your place[40].

Paṇis showed their ignorance about Indra, but they thought it worth while to establish friendship with Saramā. Considering this they praised her : 'Oh, you Saramā, you have come so far by only the pressure of Gods. We will treat you as our sister. You live with us ; we will give you a good share of the cows. Please do not go back to Indra'.

Saramā knew well that Paṇis were a cunning lot. They desired to offer her a bribe to make here leave the side of the Gods. Saramā rejected it and showed her faith in the Gods. She said : 'Oh, you, Paṇis, I am only a messanger, a spy of Gods. I know not any personal relation, whether it may be brotherhood or sisterhood. Indra and the zealous ones Angiras, the seers, know my relation I have come here only to investigate the cows. You surrender the cows of the Gods and go wherever you like'.

Saramā then came and informed Indra who attacked Paṇis and released the cows. Saramā played an important part as a spy of the Gods.

It is mentioned that Saramā was not an ordinary *Śuni*. She, being angry, cursed king Janamejaya. The story runs thus :

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39. किमिच्छन्ती सरमा प्रेदमानड् दूरे ह्यध्वा जगुरिः पराचैः ।
कास्मे हितिः कापरितक्म्यासीत् कथं रसाया अतरः पयांसि ।
—ऋग्वेद १०, १०८, १

40. इन्द्रस्य दूतीरिषिता चरामि मह इच्छन्ती पणयो निधीन् वः ।
अतिष्कदो भियसा तन्न आवत् तथा रसाया अतरं पयांसि ॥२॥
एवा चत्वं सरम आजगन्थ प्रबाधिता सहसा दैव्येन ।
स्वसारं त्वा कृणवै मा पुनर्गा अप ते गवां सुभगे भजाम ॥६॥
नाहं वेद भ्रातृत्वं नो स्वसृत्वमिन्द्रो विदुरंगिरसश्च घोराः ।
गोकामा मे अच्छादयन् यदायमपात इव पणयो वरीयः । १०
ऋ० वेद, १०, १०८, २-६-१०

Once upon a time, Janamejaya was performing a sacrifice with his three brothers. The dog, Sarameya the son of Saramā, came near the sacrificial post. The brothers chased it and drove it away. It ran to its mother, crying aloud. The mother asked. 'Why are you crying ? Who did hunt you ? The dog told the mother that the brothers of Janamejaya had injured it. The mother inquired whether it had done any mistake, looked at or touched the offerings of the sacrifice. The dog denied it and Saramā took it to heart very much[41].

Saramā went to the sacrificial post. She became angry and asked Janamejaya : Here is my son, who had not done any mistake, it had not looked at or touched the offerings. Why did you then hurt it ?

They did not give any answer. Then Saramā told them : 'You have hurt my son, which has not done any wrong. So I say that some misfortune will fall upon you in the form of a danger'.

In this way when Saramā, cursed him. Janamejaya was puzzled and annoyed with in his heart.

Dattatreya, the God, is guarded by four dogs, which were considered as the four Vedas. A dog becomes a vehicle of Bhairava *or* Kālabhairava.

The story of Yudhiṣṭhira's refusing to enter the heaven of Indra without their dog, which followed him upto to the last step, is a well known story.

The frogs in falbes :

Every child might have read a story of frogs. 'In a pond some frogs were dwelling. Some mischievous boys were throwing pebbles.

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41. जनमेजयः परिक्षितः सह भ्रातृभिः कुरुक्षेत्रे दीर्घसत्रमुपास्ते । तस्य भ्रातरस्त्रयः श्रुतसेन उग्रसेनो भीमसेन इति । तेषु तत्सत्रमुपासीनेष्वागच्छत् सारमेयः ।।१।। जनमेजयस्य भ्रातृभिरभिहतो रोरूयमाणो मातुः समीपमुपागच्छत् ।।२।। तं माता रोरूयमाणमुवाच किं रोदिषि केनास्यभिहत इति ।।३।। स एवमुक्तो मातरं प्रत्युवाच जनमेजयस्य भ्रातृभिरभिहतोऽस्मीति ।।४।। तं माता प्रत्युवाच व्यक्तं त्वयातत्रापराध्धं येनास्यभिहत इति ।।४।। सतां पुनरुवाच नापराध्यामि किंचिन्नावेक्षे हवींषिनावलिह इति ।।६।। तच्छ्रुत्वा तस्य माता सरमा पुत्रदुःखार्ता तत्सत्रमुपागच्छद् यत्र स जनमेजयः सहभ्रातृभिर्दीर्घसत्रमुपास्ते ।।६।। स तया क्रुध्दया तत्रोक्तोऽयं मे पुत्रो न किंचिदपराध्यतिनावेक्षते, हवींषि नावलेढि किमर्थमभिहत इति ।।८।। न किंचिदुक्तवन्तस्ते सा तानुवाच यस्मादय मभिहतोऽनपकारी तस्मादृष्टं त्वां भयमागमिष्यतीति । जनमेजय एवमुक्तो देवशून्या सरमयाभृशं संभ्रान्तो विषण्णाश्चासीत् म० भा० आ० प० ३-१-१०

The frogs requested them not to hurt the innocent animals. Such fables are already found in *Pañcatantra*.

It is understood that the frogs are found only in monsoon. When the rainy season begins, they come out with gusti and make the pond noisy, particularly at the night.

There is a frog hymn in the Ṛgveda (17, 163) where the seer describes the various sounds of frogs, as he was praying to the God of Rain[42]. It is mentioned that 'Vaśiṣṭha, the seer, wishing the rain, prays to the God and frogs.

The idea of kindness is found in the dialogue on the rivers and the sage Viśvāmitra.

It is narrated that the seer had become a friend of every being in the universe, as signified by his name Viśvāmitra. It happened that once the seer, with his party, reached the bank of two rivers, Vipāṭ and Śutudri, which were flowing with a fast momentum. The seer found that, it was very difficult to cross the rivers. He prayed to the rivers to stop the flow for a moment and to become shallow so that he may cross with his party. The rivers heard the prayer, and kindly stopped the flow.

The dialogue occurs in Ṛgveda 3.33.

It is already shown that the *Pañcatantra* was the main source of the fables and that the Mahābhāratā has also many original fable.

An humble effort has been made by me here to show that Ṛgveda has also elements of fables. The Ṛgveda happens to be the earliest composition in world literature.

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42. गवामह न मायुर्पप्सिनीयां मण्डूकानां वग्नुरत्रा समेति ।।ऋग् ७, १०३, १-२।। वसिष्ठो वर्षकामः पर्जन्यं तुष्टाव तं मण्डूका अन्वमोदतम्त । स मण्डूकाननु मोदमानान् दृष्टवा तुष्टाव ।। निरुक्त ६, ६

SANSKRIT & PHILOSOPHICAL THOUGHT IN THE VASCO DA GAMA EPOCH

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The period of about four and half centuries ending in 1945 (with the end of World War II) was one of Western dominance. As Toynbee remarked, during these 450 years the West was the aggressor on the whole and the world was hit hard by the West.[1] Western hegemony eroded with the end of the second world war. The intrusion of the West into the East began when Vasco da Gama found the sea route to India in 1498, and the process of decolonisation set in with the withdrawal of British forces from India in 1947 and of European navies from China in 1949. The Vasco da Gama epoch (1498 to 1945) constituted "a clearly marked epoch of history" presenting "a singular unity in its fundamental aspects."[2] From the beginning of the 16th century the more or less "balanced relationship" that existed till then between Asia and Europe began to change.[3] From all accounts, it is clear that the da Gama period "has a single theme of historic continuity,"[4] viz European dominance and Asian passivity and somnolence.

What sort of philosophical activity was carried on in Sanskrit during this period? What was the nature and extent of the influencc of Sanskrit philosophical works on modern Indian philosophical thinking? Philosophy within India during the Vasco da Gama epoch will be the subject of this paper and the influence of Indian philosophy on modern world philosophical thought would have to be the subject of another paper. Religious and reform movements which did not attempt to formulate systematic thought will not be included in this purview.

A—Pre-Modern Period

Works on Indian philosophy such as those of Rādhā Kṛṣṇa and Hiriyanna tend to give the impression that no important creative

philosophical work was done after Vedānta received definitive formulation in three different ways at the hands of the three great ācāryas—Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Madhva—and after their teachings crystallised into the three great schools of Vedānta. But a detailed study of the philosophical activity in the late medieval or pre-modern period [prior to, say, Raja Ramamohan Roy (1772-1833)] shows that creative philosophic work of a very high order was accomplished in this period.

One of the most significant developments in the 16th century was the rise of the Navya-Nyāya school of Navadvīpa. Its founder Raghunātha (C. 1475-1550) is one of the great philosophers of India. His successors, Mathurānātha (C. 1600—1675), Jagadīśa (C. 1600) and Gadādhara (C. 1650) were also acute thinkers. The Navadvīpa school developed formal logic of an abstract kind, in some ways superior to Aristotelian logic, and a realistic metaphysics. It analysed words and tried to penetrate into the relations among the ultimate constituents of the world, so that a picture of the world as it is may emerge. Finding ordinary language inadequate for this purpose, it used a terminology which consisted of "a complex system of clichés". The Navya-Nyāya school was trying to do what symbolic logic and the school of analysis are doing in our time, and this school's "intent and basis" were not different from those of, say, N. Goodman's *The Structure of Experience* (1951). Although Shaileshwar Sen of Andhra University published in 1924 a pioneer study of a fragment of Mathurānātha, it was the significant studies of Ingalls and Potter in the fifties which contributed to a proper understanding and evaluation of this school by modern philosophers in India as well as abroad.[5] Prior to these studies, such modern philosophers who cared to read Navya-Nyāya works considered their content to be, in Keith's words, "scholasticism of the worst description", and held "it is regrettable that in the 16th century the Sanskrit schools of Navadvīpa formed the centre of intellectual life in the country."[6] No one to-day can make such comments on Navya-Nyāya.

While Raghunātha tried to demolish the categorical framework of Vaiśeṣika, Śaṅkara Miśra (C. 1600) wrote a commentary *Upaskāra* on the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras, and Annambhatta (C. 1585 ?) and Viśvanātha (1634) wrote popular treatises on syncretistic Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika.

While Aniruddha who wrote a commentary on Sāṅkhya Sūtras lived just before the commencement of the Vasco da Gama period, Mahādeva of about 1600 wrote his *Sāṅkhyavṛttisāra*. Commentaries on Yoga Sūtras also continued to be written, e.g.

Sadāśivendra Brāhmaṇa of Karur (early 18th century) and Nāgojibhaṭṭa or Nāgeśa (1700-1750). But the one really important work on the Sāmkhya System produced in this period is Vijñānabhikṣu's *Sāṅkhyapravacanabhāṣya*. He was an important philosopher of the 16th century who lived in Varanasi. He wrote also commentaries on the Brahma Sūtras and on Yoga Bhāṣya and other works. He was an independent thinker who sought to formulate a system reconciling Sāṅkhya and Vedānta. Unfortunately there is yet no monograph on him, but Dasgupta has a chapter on him in his history of Indian philosophy. He had a scanty following.

In the 16th and 17th centuries the Bhāṭṭa school of Mīmāṃsā was kept alive by a number of writers such as Āpadeva, Laugākṣi Bhāskara, Kṛṣṇa Yajva, Nārāyaṇabhaṭṭa, etc. But the greatest Mīmāṁsaka of this period was Khaṇḍa Deva (died 1665) of whose works the *Bhāṭṭadīpikā* is the most important, which gave rise to the neo-Bhāṭṭa school.

Inspired by the great religious figure Caitanya (1486-1533), six Gosvāmis of Vrindāvan developed theological metaphysics. Of these, two brothers Rūpa and Sanātana, and their nephew Jīva are important. The former two were for some time courtiers of Sultan Husein Shah (1494-1525) of Bengal, and might have been Muslims for some time. Jīva-gosvāmi's *Ṣaṭsandarbha* is an outstanding work and his is, as E. C. Dimock said, "a very subtle and careful theological system".[7] In mid 18th century Baladeva wrote his *Govinda Bhāṣya* on the Brahma Sūtras and a treatise *Siddhānta-ratna*, both claiming to be in accordance with Caitanya's teachings and showing the influence of Madhva's Dvaitavāda.

The period also witnessed the rise of a new school of Vedānta. Vallabha (1481-1533) of Andhra developed the Śuddhādvaita school which maintains that Brahman is untouched by māyā and absolutely pure, and is the one non-dual reality. The best and easiest path of salvation is *puṣṭi* (grace, "poṣaṇaṃ tadanugrāhaḥ"). It is not by human effort, but by divine grace that one is saved and this path is independent of jñāna etc. ("jñānādinairapekṣyam".) No other religious philosophy is more world affirming than Vallabha's. Vallabha wrote commentaries on Brahma Sūtras, the Bhāgavata and a number of other works. His son Viṭṭhalanātha (1518-1588) and his successors went on making coutributions to this school till the 18th century. Of these Puruṣottama who among other works wrote a commentary on Vallabha's commentary on Brahma Sūtras deserves mention. So does Bālakṛṣṇabhaṭṭa, author of *Prameyaratnārṇava*.

For some reason the Viśiṣṭādvaita school of Rāmānuja produced no great thinker in this period. Writers on Viśiṣṭādvaita were not lacking, e.g. Śrinivāsa (16th century), author of the popular *Yatīndramatadīpikā*, and *Raṅgarāmānuja* (18th century) who wrote commentaries on the Upaniṣads and other works. The Dvaitādvaita school of Nimbārka had in Puruṣottama (born 1623), author of *Vedāntaratnamañjūṣā* and other works, and in Mādhava Mukunda, who came much later, two good thinkers. The latter's *Parapakṣa-girivajra* is an acute criticism of Advaita. This school had other writers too.

Among Vedāntins of the Vasco da Gama epoch, it was the adherents of Dvaita and Advaita that accomplished philosophical work of paramount importance. Vyāsatīrtha (1446-1536 ?) of the Dvaita school, a contemporary of Emperor Krishnadeva Rāya (reign 1509-29) of Vijayanagar, was the author of two great works *Nyāyāmṛta* and *Tarkatāṇḍava*. The first is a formidable criticism of Advaita, while the second challenges "almost every logical definition that appears in the *Tattvacintāmaṇi* of Gaṅgeśa"[8] and tries to establish logically in a positive way, but in accordance with scripture the doctrines of Dvaita formulated by Madhva, especially in his *Viṣṇutattvanirṇaya*[9]. According to Dasgupta, the foremost historian of Indian philosophy, "the logical skill and depth of acute dialectical thinking shown by Vyāsatīrtha stands almost unrivalled in the whole field of Indian thought"[10]. It is a pity there is no monograph on this great philosopher and he has not been translated. Generally the Buddhist thinker Nāgārjuna and the Advaitic thinkers Śrī Harṣa, Citsukha and Madhusūdana Sarasvatī have been considered to be the great dialecticians of India but Dasgupta, who ought to know what he is saying, holds that the Madhva thinkers "Jayatīrtha and Vyāsatīrtha present the highest dialectical skill in Indian thought". And yet Dasgupta is not a Madhva. *Nyāyāmṛta* gave rise to a great debate. The great Advaitic thinker Madhusūdana Sarasvatī of the 16th century tried to refute it in his *Advaitasiddhi*. Two Dvaita writers of the late 16th century, Rāmācārya in his *Taraṅgiṇī* and Vijayendratīrtha in his *Kaṇṭakoddhāra* attempted in turn to refute *Advaitasiddhi*[11]. Gaudabrahmānanda in his *Advaitacandrikā* tried to demolish the Dvaita criticisms of Madhusūdana's work. Vanamālī Miśra and Satyanātha Yati (both of the 17th century) tried in turn to refute Madhusūdana and Appayya Dīkṣita (whose *Madhvamukhamardana* was a criticism of Dvaita). And so the debate went on: but later works contain nothing original. This Dvaita-Advaita controversy was a great philosophical

event of the period. The Dvaita school produced other able thinkers like Raghūttama, Vedeśa, (both commentators on Madhvas' Upaniṣad Bhāṣyas), and Pūrnānanda (author of *Māyāvādaśatadūṣanī*).

Coming to Advaita, the two greatest minds of the period were Madhusūdana Sarasvatī and Prakāśānanda. Pandit Yogindranatha on the basis of the tradition that Madhusūdana was the contemporary of Tulasīdās, Akbar, Mathurānātha and Gadādhara, concluded that he lived from 1533 to 1640. Besides his great work already mentioned, his commentary on the Gītā, his treatise on Bhakti, *Bhaktirasāyana* and his *Siddhāntabindu* are well-known works. He wrote a number of other books. Madhusūdana was not only a great logician, but a great bhakta. He tried to reconcile non-dualism with faith and devotion in a personal God. For him Kṛṣṇa, whose līläs the *Bhāgavata* described, was the supreme reality, and yet he was a rigorous non-dualist. Madhusūdana seems to have had the sākṣātkāra of Kṛṣṇa, but he simultaneously retained a conviction of the truth of Advaita. Prakāśānanda (1550-1600) was probably the first to interpret Śāṅkara Advaita as subjective idealism. The existence of objects, he maintained, is nothing but the perception (dṛṣti) of them. In his *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī* he tried to establish this by logic. It is a short but powerful book, which gave rise to "dṛṣṭisṛṣṭivāda". Prakāśānanda's was an original mind of high order. His disciple Nanādikṣita wrote a commentary, *Siddhāntadīpikā*, on it. However this doctrine did not obtain many supporters, nor did Prakāśānanda wield much influence in the history of Advaita. According to Gopinatha Kaviraj, Madhusūdana and Nṛsimhāśrama (both lived in Kāśī) were the most famous Pandits of the 16th century[12]. The latter's *Vedāntatattvaviveka* (written in 1547), *Bhedādhikāra* and other works are well-known. No one dealing with this period can fail to mention Appayya Dīkṣita (1554-1626), the polymath who wrote authoritatively on various subjects, Mīmāṁsā, Saivism, Alankāra and Advaita. He attempted to contribute to the further development of the Bhāmatī school of Advaita and Śrīkaṇṭha's Śivādvaita doctrine as well. His *Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha* summarises the doctrinal differences among Advaitins. A number of other writers like Sadānanda (author of *Vedāntasārа*) Dharmarāja (author of *Vedānta Paribhāṣā*), Kāśmīraka Sadānanda (author of *Advaitabrahmasiddhi*), Govindānanda (17th century, author of *Ratnaprabhā*), Sadāśivendra Brāhmaṇa of Karur (early 18th century, author of *Brahmatattvaprakāśika*) and their contemporaries and successors continued to keep the light of Advaita burning

bright throughout this period. But after Madhusūdana's *Advaitasiddhi* and Prakāśānanda's *Vedāntasiddhāntamuktāvalī*, the school of Advaita Vedānta produced nothing great and original.

Francois Bernier, a philosopher and physician and a disciple of the French philosopher Gassendi, who travelled in Mughal India from the end of 1658 to the early part of 1667, wrote that "le mystere d'une grande Cabale" (Mysticism of a great sect) was "the almost universal doctrine" of the Hindu Pandits of India and that it was the same doctrine which the Sufis and "the greater part of the learned men of Persia" held in his time. He also expressed the opinion that if the writings of Plato and Aristotle were carefully examined it would be probably discovered that they inclined towards the same metaphysical belief. From his account of "le mystere" it is clear he was referring to Advaita-māyāvāda ; and he recorded that it 'latterly made great noise" in India as it was "instilled" into the minds of Princes Dara and Shujah, brothers of emperor Aurangzeb. But the Pandits with whom Bernier discussed could not give any "reasons" or logical arguments in support of their monism and illusionism, but could only advance "comparisons", "similes" and "fine words". To his Cartesian mind it appeared to be a "great tissue of extravagant folly."[13] Evidently Bernier could not meet with the best exponents of Advaita. Dara Shikoh (1615-1659), the eldest son of emperor Shah Jahan, who, according to the author of *Alamgir Nama* written in 1688, was constantly in the society of Brāhmins, Yogis and Sannyāsins, had a deep understanding of Vedānta. When he was the Viceroy of Banaras in 1656 he collected Brāhmins and Sannyāsins from all parts of the country and got 52 Upaniṣads translated into Persian, himself participating in the work and writing a preface. This work *Sirr-i-Akbar* (The Great Secret, completed 1657) a hundred and forty-four years later exerted much influence in Europe through its Latin translation. Dara Shikoh stated therein that Upaniṣadic teaching was "a treasure of monotheism" and "words of God" and that whoever studied and comprehended it "shall become imperishable, fearless, unsolicitous, and eternally liberated." But this should not lead us to conclude that Vedānta or even Sufism was the solace of his life and death. Instructed in Christianity by a Flemish Jesuit, for some time Dara 'acquiesced in its truth and propriety', as Bernier put it, and according to Manucci, a Venetian who was his physician for some time, in the last moments of his life, he expressed a number of times the hope that Christ the son of the eternal would save him. Dara's was a curious and sensitive mind which lacked deep

abiding faith. Nevertheless, the importance of *Sirr-i-Akbar* for a history of ideas cannot be overemphasized.

No work was done in Buddhist philosophy since the twelth century when the vihāras were destroyed. In the period we are concerned with now, we can find only one Jaina writer, Yaśovijaya of the first half of the 17th century (author of *Tarkabhāśā*, etc.)

Since the publication of Sir John Woodroffe's pioneering studies and translations of the Tantras and the work carried out in this field by foreign savants like Schrader, Tucci, Gonda, Filliozat, Snellgrove, etc., and by Indian scholars like H.P. Shastri: B. Bhattacharya, S. B. Dasgupta, P.C. Bagchi, Gopinath Kaviraj and others, Tantra cannot be dismissed as gibberish and primitive magic. So, it is proper to mention that in the period we are considering important contributions in this field were made by, among others: Lakshmīdhara (uncertain date, but after Mādhavācārya and before Bhāskararāya), whose commentary on *Saundaryalaharī* contains a mass of information on Tantric doctrine and practice; Purṇānanda (died 1526) whose *Śrī Tattvacintāmaṇi* (of which *Ṣatcakranirūpaṇa* is a chapter); and above all Bhāskararāya (first half of 18th century), author of *Varivasvārahasya*, and commentaries on "Durgāsaptaśatī", "Lalitāsahasranāma,', etc. Bhāskararāya's works attempt to explain Tantric mysteries, symbolism and philosophy in a lucid way. He gave rise to a school. Punyānandanātha author of *Kāmakalāvilāsa*), Sadānanda of Bengal (author of a tantric commentary on Īśa Upaniṣad) and a host of other tantric writers can be mentioned. All these belonged to the Śākta school; the other Tantric schools were not vigorous and creative in the late medieval period.

Work in the field of ethics too went on. The integration of Hindu society was preserved during the Muslim period largely due to the authority of the Dharma Śāstras and the extraordinary way in which their principles and injunctions were adapted to changing circumstances and needs through commentaries and digests. Dharma Śāstra was made to evolve through interpretation, comment, and harmonisation of ancient Śāstraic texts. Some of these late medieval books may be mentioned; to the 16th century belong: *Vivādacintāmaṇi* of Vācaspati (C. 1510): the 28 Tattvas of Raghunandana; *Dharmādvaitanirṇaya* of Śaṅkarabhaṭṭa (1560-1620): and a commentary on *Viṣṇudharma Sūtra*, etc., by

Naṇḍapandita (1590-1630). To the 17th century belong : the well-known *Nirṇayasindhu* of Kamalākara (1610-1640) ; the encyclopaedic *Vīramitrodaya* of Mitra Miśra (1615-1645), who also wrote a commentary on Vijñāneśvara's *Mitākṣarā* (itself a commentary on Yājñavalkya Smṛti) ; *Nītimayūkha* etc. of Nīlakaṇṭha of the same period ; and *Rājadharmakaustubha* of Anantadeva (1650-1680). In the next century came Nāgojibhatta (or Nageśa, 1700-1750), author of *Bhagavantabhāskara*. It was to a considerable extent through these and other such commentaries and digests of the Smṛtis, which constructively redefined and clarified dharma, that Hindus were able to preserve their way of life and identity in the Muslim period. These books laid down norms for personal and social conduct and showed practicable ways of realising them, taking into account the situation brought about by Muslim rule, and they had a role in helping Hindu society to retain its cohesion and continuity, making only the minimum necessary adjustments from time to time. It was in no small measure due to the authority and power of the Dharma Śāstras that even after centuries of Muslim rule Hindu social organisation remained more or less what it was on the eve of Muslim conquest. If one reads what Alberuni said about Hindu society, beliefs and customs in the early 11th century and what Bernier said about them in the second half of the 17th century, one finds how little they changed. But if we remember that it was this passive unchanging social organisation that served as a basis for oriental despotism and western imperialism, fulsome praise cannot be our only reaction to it or to the Dharma Śāstras that preserved it.

Reviewing what has been said, it can be said there was intense philosophical activity of a high order in the 16th century (the names of Raghunātha, Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Vyāsatīrtha and Vijñānabhikṣu and others are sufficient to prove this), but as the 17th century marched on, there was a progressive decline in this. Among other reasons, as the 17th century advanced the impact of the pan-Indian Bhakti and Tantra movements was felt increasingly, and these emphasized feeling, faith and rituals, disvaluing intellectual effort and vigorous systematic thought and so philosophy which was prized as the aid to salvation could not retain its vogue and attract the best minds. Besides this, social and political conditions also deteriorated. By the middle of the 18th eentury, as Sir Jadunath Sarkar said, India was at the lowest point of moral decay and political weakness.[14]

B—Modern Period

The battle of Plassey in 1757 laid the foundation of the British power in India and the Third battle of Panipat in 1761 consolidated it, and from the time of the governor-generalship of Marquees Wellesley (1798-1805) a completely new social and political situation began to emerge distinctly. The modern period in India began then.[15]

The new social and political order required adjustments in morals and law and consequently the principles of Dharma had to be restated and reinterpreted and ways of their application in altered circumstances had to be shown. Moreover as far as Hindus were concerned, the British decided to administer law according to Hindu sacred law, and they needed authoritative and comprehensive digests which codified Hindu laws in a clear manner. Consequently there was an enormous activity in the field of Dharma Śāstra. Derrett has been able to list about 20 Dharma Śāstra treatises which can be attributed to British influence or patronage and about 31 similar works which were possibly written in response to British request or encouragement. Of these two are most important. Encouraged and patronised by Warren Hastings, in 1773-5 Bāneśvara and others produced *Vivādārṇavasetu*. It was translated into Persian, English, French and German. Its English translation by N. B. Halhed appeared under the title "A Code of Gentoo Laws, or Ordinations of the Pundits" (1776). In 1792-4, under the patronage of Sir William Jones, Jagannātha (born 1695-7) produced *Vivādabhaṅgārṇava*, which was translated by Colebrooke. Jagannātha was a great scholar who knew all the schools of Hindu law and was conversant with the entire Dharma Śāstra literature. We might also mention two other works written in South India during the 18th century : *Vyavahāra* (or *Dāya*) *Daśaślokī* by Śrīdhara (or Lakshmīdhara), which has a commentary by Durgayya (about 1825), translated by A.C. Burnell ; and *Vyavahāramālā*, which was in vogue in Kerala for some time. The decisions of British courts based on these digests and their sources perpetuated antique laws unmodified by customs, whereas previously Hindu law was based on custom and was changed and reinterpreted by new customs. This prevented social change and resulted in stagnation. I have discussed the question of the authority and applicability of Dharma Śāstra elsewhere.[17]

The greatest religio-philosophical Sanskrit text of the 18th century, also meant to be used as a law book, is the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra*. In 1927 Sir John Woodroffe in the Preface to his English

translation of it stated he came across a 500 years old Manuscript of it,[18] but Derrett has shown that since this text was written between 1775 and 1785, because it shows acquaintance with English law and many of its Sanskrit terms are literally translations from English. So, Derrett describes it as "a juridical fabrication of early British India". It may be 'a fabrication' because written in the second half of the 18th century it purports to be a dialogue between Pārvati and Sadāśiva. We may recall that the Bhāgavata claiming to be a dialogue between Śuka and Parīkṣit composed by Vyāsa, was produced probably by a Tamilian in the 10th century ;[19] and that a Syrian who lived between 475 and 525 A.D. ascribed his own works—among which is a short but priceless one on mystical theology—to Dionysius, the Athenian convert and friend of St. Paul. Although pseudo—Dionysius in Dean Inge's words thus "probably perpetuated a deliberate fraud", he was a great mystic who accurately described the workings of mystical consciousness and from the 9th to the 17th century his works nourished the most spiritual intuitions of men in Europe.[20] Similarly, the literary excellence, philosophic importance and spiritual value of the Bhāgavata and its enormous influence on Vaiṣnavism are well-known. The late composition of the *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* should not stand in the way of recognising its greatness. Derrett himself considers it to be a "remarkable book", "a work of genius" and "fundamentally a monotheistic treatise", and its author to be "a religious thinker of exceptional stature". The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* attempted to expound a monotheistic reformed Hindu religion. It permits widow remarriage, and interdining and intermarriages among all who accept its doctrines and join the religious brotherhood founded on the sādhanā it prescribes. It advocates the abolition of food taboos, sati and slavery. Hariharānanda, the guru of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, wrote a commentary on it, and the latter's reform movement derived inspiration from it. It was first published in 1876 by the Ādi Brahma Samāja.

This is perhaps the place to say a few words about another "forgery". This is the *Śukranītisāra*, "the last great comprehensive political study of the ancient Hindus".[21] Earlier, scholars assigned it to the 13th century, though it was acknowledged that the present text was finalised in the 16th or 17th century,[22] but now it is assigned to the first half of the 19th century. [22A](Raghavan, Gopal, Derret and Drekmeier.) *Śukranītisāra* pleads for a social and political order based on justice and equality and for laws which take into account contemporary realities and efficacious for this and the other world. Advocating a polity based on ethics and for

social distinctions based on "virtues and works" and not on birth, it is intolerant of tyranny and inequity in any form. B.K. Sarkar published in 1914 its English translation under the title "The Śukra Nīti" and his "The Positive Background of Hindu Sociology" (1921) contains an excellent study of it.

The *Mahānirvāṇa Tantra* and the *Śukranītisāra* are outstanding works which sought to revitalise ideas and symbols that provide living links with the past without ignoring current political and social realities. They testify to the resilience and adaptability of Hindu tradition.

In the 19th century the impact of Western ideas and institutions, the discoveries and studies of the early Indologists and the establishment of a stable single government all over India, which provided uniform law and education, led to an awakening in India. This movement was as significant and far-reaching for India as the renaissance in the 15th and 16th centuries was for Europe. While one of the achievements of the 19th century Indian Renaissance was to discover, re-examine and reinterpret the fundamental beliefs and ideas which constituted the core of Hinduism, and to find within Indian tradition itself the ideals and spiritual force necessary for social reorganisation, it showed its dynamism and catholicity by advocating that India must borrow from the West whatever was useful for material welfare and prosperity and whatever was conducive to human freedom and social justice. The greatest personality of this Renaissance was Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833), the initiator of modern Indian thought, and who, in the work he did and the lasting effects he achieved, was to India what men like Petrarch, Erasmus, Bacon and Lessing were to Europe at different times. In originality and clarity of thought, in humanism and in the ability to express himself in elegant language, he was not inferior to any of these great Europeans.

In 1805 Henry Colebrooke published his essay "on the Vedas, or the Sacred Writings of the Hindus", containing translations of portions of the Upaniṣads. The worship of defied heroes was, he noted, a later historical development, not sanctioned by the Vedas. Ram Mohan Roy's translations of the Upaniṣads appeared between 1816 and 1820. The Upaniṣads, he wrote, manifest the real spirit of the Hindu scriptures, which is but the declaration of the unity of God[23] Roy was the first modern Indian to maintain that Upaniṣadic teachings, rightly interpreted, contain eternal truth relevant to all ages, that only the religion based on them is true Hinduism and that it could be reconciled with the modern

world and science. Since then Vedānta became the dominant philosophy in India, thanks to him and men like Vivekānanda who came later.

In contrast to Roy, Dayānanda (1824-1883) went back to the early books of the Veda and thought he found in them great and vital truths which could renovate contemporary religion and society. He developed a rational monotheism which he claimed was in consonance with Vedic revelation, and he pleaded for a society based on reason, ethics and the Veda,—a society which will have no place for outmoded or irrational institutions or practices like caste and untouchability. His *Satyārtha Prakāśa* is a philosophic classic, which can stand on a level with some of our bhāṣyas, or the works of St. Thomas and Ghazali.

Theosophy which started in 1875 and moved to India in 1882 promoted oriental scholarship and study of comparative religion. It served to strengthen popular Hinduism by praising many facets of it. It also tended to foster dubious mystical theories as well as occultism and spiritualism, which were in varying degrees opposed to the rational and scientific outlook. Theosophy was also perhaps the first movement in modern India which propagated the concept of "the equality of all religions" i.e. all religions being but different paths to the Divine. It is, however, difficult to understand what this means. How can the religions of the Hottentots and Eskimos be equal either in validity or value to the religions of St. Francis and Caitanya ? Are the religions of Prahlāda and Hiraṇyakaśipu, of Śaṅkara and the Kāpālika who tried to murder him, equally good but different paths to God ?

Nārāyaṇa Guru (1857-1928), born an untouchable (chovan-Ezhava), was able to bring about extensive religious and social reforms in Kerala through his Sanskrit and Malayalam works and his movement. He was an Advaitin. *Darśanamālā* and *Navaratna Mañjarī* are two of his principal Sanskrit works.

Towards the end of the 19th century came Vivekānanda (1863-1902) who through his lectures and writings outlined a comprehensive world-view in tune with Advaita Vedānta, science and modern ideas of justice, equality and freedom. After Śaṅkara he is the greatest systematiser of Advaita Vedānta. He developed a social and ethical theory in tune with Advaita metaphysics, offered his own interpretations of India's past and speculated about India's future. It was due to him that Advaita Vedānta came to be considered by most Indian academic philosophers and English-

educated Indians and by most Western students of Indian thought as the completion and culmination of all philosophies and religions. He gave equal importance to spiritual and material well-being, and to Vedānta and science. Calling himself a socialist, he recognised that socialism, "some form of rule by people" was inevitable. Socialism meant for him "satisfaction of material needs, less work, no oppression, no war, more food". Vedāntic teaching, he thought, was in harmony with such aspirations and system which would realise them. In the unification and integration of Hindu thinking and practice, in awakening nationalism and in making many English-educated Hindus and some in the West accept Vedānta as the perennial philosophy, the influence of Vivekānanda has been enormous. Rāma Tīrtha (1873-1906) who worked on similar lines and to similar effect should also be mentioned in this context. The works of both these men constitute important contributions to philosophy.

The Bhagavad Gītā was translated into English in 1785 and into German in 1802 and the discerning in the West who read it began to hail it as a great religious and philosophic classic. It attracted the attention of Indian reformers and nationalists and some of them found it to contain an adequate political and social gospel for India. A world-affirming philosophy which called people to act for the welfare of the world (*lokasaṅgraha*) was discovered in it. Bala Gangadhara Tilak (1856-1920) provided an authoritative and comprehensive interpretation of the Gītā as the *Karmayoga śāstra par excellence.* Published in 1914 in Marathi, Tilak's commentary on the Gītā had great popularity and soon translated into a number of Indian lunguages and exerted much influence throughout India. The fact that men like Aurobindo, Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, Radhakrishnan and Rajagopalachari acknowledged its inspiration, accepted its authority and wrote commentaries on it justifying their views, shows its comprehensive influence on modern Hindu thought and practice.

We may now say a word about those scholars who edited, translated or expounded Sanskrit philosophical texts or systems in Sanskrit or other languages in traditional ways without any constructive development, comparative study or criticism. The work of men like Ganganatha Jha, Kuppuswami Sastri and Gopinatha Kaviraja, was highly important, but it may be more appropriate to call it "oriental research" or "Sanskrit study"

rather than "philosophy". However it was such work which enabled others like Radhakrishnan to do Indian philosophy. Pandits like Chinnaswami Sastri (Mīmāṁsā), Anantakrishna Sastri (Vedānta), Vamacharana Bhattacharya (Navya Nyāya), and others attempted to do "*pariṣkāra*" or "*anugama*", i.e., tried to clarify, harmonise and systematise some of the doctrines of the system or school they were interested in. But the Sanskrit writings of these 20th century pandits have made no impact on contemporary thinking, nor have they made any great original contributions to the old systems.

Contemporary Indian Philosophy (2nd edition), edited by Radhakrishnan and Muirhead, may be taken as representative of the best philosophical work done by academic philosophers* in Indian universities from the time of their establishment till the II World War. Of its 24 contributors 19 are idealists of some sort or other ; there is not a single atheist or materialist among the contributors ; and, besides Gandhi and Tagore, only 10 of them (including 3 non-Hindus) were predominantly influenced by any system of philosophy other than Advaita Vedānta. All the rest of the academic men were under the thrall of Advaita Vedānta and some form of Kantain or Hegelian idealism. No one of the contributors can be considered to be a great systematic philosopher. Elsewhere I have assessed the work of all these and other men of this period.[24]

The greatest 20th century Indian philosopher is Sri Aurobindo. His thinking was profoundly shaped by his deep study of the Veda, Upaniṣads, Gītā and Tantras and Western religious and philosophical literature. Above all, he derived inspiration from his own spiritual experience. For systematic thinking and comprehensiveness, his philosophy is not rivalled by that of any other contemporary Indian.

*The volume includes a few contributions from men like Gandhi, Tagore, and Abhedananda, who were not university men or academic philosophers.

NOTES

1. A. Toynbee, *The World and the West* pp. 4, 2.
2. K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and Western Dominance*, p. 13.
3. Raghavan Iyer (ed.), *The Glass Curtain Between Asia And Europe*, p. 38.
4. loc. cit., p. 44.
5. S. Sen, *A Study on Mathurānātha's Tattvacintāmaṇirahasya*, Wageningen, 1924 ; D.H.H. Ingalls, *Materials for the Study of Navya-Nyāya Logic*, Cambridge (USA), 1951 ; K.H. Potter, *The Padārthatattvanirūpaṇam of Raghunātha Śiromani*, Cambridge (USA), 1957.
6. A.B. Keith, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 485.
7. In M. Singer (ed.), *Krishna : Myths, Rites and Attitudes*, p. 220, n. 28.
8. Surendranath Dasgupta, *A History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol. IV, Preface, p. VIII.
9. Editor's Preface, pp. i & iv, to Vyāsatīrtha, *Tarka Tāṇḍavam* Vol. I, Mysore 1932.
10. loc. cit.
11. Ashutosh Bhattacharya Sastri's *Studies in Post Śaṁkara Dialectics*, Calcutta 1936, and Dasgupta's *History* Vol. IV, contain quite good accounts of the controversy. A comprehensive account is yet to be written.
12. G. Kaviraj, *Bhāratīya Samskṛti Aur Sādhanā, Prathama Khanda*, p. 162.
13. F. Berner, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Trs. A. Constable ; Ed. V. A. Smith), Oxford 1914, pp. 345-8.
14. Jadunath Sarkar, *India Through the Ages*, Calcutta 1928. This is a seminal pioneer work on the development of Indian culture.
15. U.N. Ghoshal, *The Beginnings of Indian Historiography and other Essays*, Calcutta 1944.

    According to Ghoshal the last years of the 12th and early years of the 13th century were the dividing line between ancient and medieval periods in North India ; the medieval period started a century later in South India. Wellesley's administration, he says, marks the beginning of the modern period for it was then that British power was consolidated

and made paramount. Cp. K.M. Panikkar, *The Determining Periods of Indian History* (Bombay 1965) and *The Foundations of New India* (London, 1963).

16. J.D.M. Derrett, *Religion, Law and the State in India*, London 1968, pp. 270-3.

17. *The Indian Spirit*, Andhra University Press, Waltair, 1965, pp. 241-4 (note 10 to Chapter I).

18. *The Great Liberation*, Trans. & Commentary by Arthur Avalon, (3rd edn.) Madras 1953, p. VIII.

19. K.A.N. Sastri, *A History of South India*, p. 329; M. Winternitz, *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, Vol. I, p. 556.

20. E. Underhill, *Mysticism*, p. 545-6; W.R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism*, p. 105.

21. C. Drekmier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, p. 221.

22. Beni Prasad, *The State in Ancient India*, p. 486.

22a. Eg. V. Raghavan, *A.I.O.C.* (1961) Proceedings I. (1964) pp. 24-25; *Rajavidyā, Madras*, Vol. I. pp. 5-14.

23. *The English Works of Raja Ram Mohan Roy* (ed. K. Nag), Pt. 2, p. 13.

24. K. Satchidananda Murty (ed.), *Samakālīna Bhāratīya Darśana*, Faridkot, 1962, pp. XI-XXXIX; K. Satchidananda Murty and K. Ramakrishna Rao (eds.), *Current Trends in Indian Philosophy*, 1972, Introduction.

INFLUENCE OF SANSKRIT ON THE CULTURE AND CIVILIZATION OF NEPAL

SRI KRISHNA MISHRA
Chairman of the delegation to First International Sanskrit Conference from NEPAL

I feel it a great honour to address a few words in this assembly of savants with such vast knowledge of and deep sympathy with Sanskrit as the prime language of man on Earth. I may, in all modesty, say that in Nepal, with her history of culture and civilization extending over several centuries, we have been holding Sanskrit with the greatest veneration as the language of gods and we have been cultivating its knowledge with due love and care. Even Kings like Bhupatindra Malla of medieval Nepal had adopted Sanskrit as a medium of expression of their poetic thoughts.

The subject of my humble dissertation is the influence of Sanskrit on our culture and civilization.

The etymology of the word 'Sanskrit' (culture) reveals that it is a process of the greatest vibrational power of the functions of the body, mind and intellect of man for the elevation of the species to a higher plane of existence. Thus when we dwell upon the 'Influence of Sanskrit on our Culture and Civilization' I am bound to look back on the evolution of the human species. In making such a study I must not neglect the ancient and modern schools of thought.

The ancient school of thought opines that the process of evolution is without a beginning. According to Vyāsa the evolution process has been divided into four periods of Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Satya (Kṛta). The Kali period was of the duration of 4,32,000

years and the total duration of the four periods was 4,320,000 years. A Manu holds away over seventy one four-periods of Kali, Dvāpara, Tretā and Satya which adds up to 306,720,000. A Bramhā holds a sway over 4,294,080,000 years of days and the equal number of nights. We have no count of the Brahmās that have been. But we know that the present Brahmā has passed his fiftieth year and is on the forenoon of his fifty-first year which is, in other words, the twenty-eighth Kaliyuga of the Vaibasvata Manu. Thus it is established that the creation of the present Universe is about one and three quarter billion years old. Veda Vyāsa may be considered a successful historian who could delineate the essential realities of history as determined by the present concept of time and space and as is above all politic-economic verities.

According to the history thus delineated by Vyāsa and whose reality is further confirmed by the Smṛtis after the emanence of great Ṛṣis like Marīci and Manus like Svāyambhuva the prime humanity was created in this hallowed land in the middle of the Himālayas surrounded by the three seas. From here it is surmised the habitation of mankind has embraced the entire world. Thus the humanity first evolved in this mid-Himalayan region surrounded by the three seas and who are informed by the ethereal sublimity of thought and endowed with the blessings of the highest norms of behaviour and who have taught mankind all over the globe the lessons of high morality as depicted in the Smṛtis and history.

"Those who are born the foremost on Earth
Shall teach humanity the lessons of morality
Through the conduct of their individual lives.

(Manu)

Under certain physical conditions the pure blood pumped out by the heart may not have a free flow into certain organs. Under such a situation such organs may undergo a process of disintegration. Similarly because of the negation of the free flow of thoughts on account of the communication bottlenecks in different parts of the globe there became apparent the diversity in the behavioural and intellectual pattern and there emanated the divergence in education, language and costumes. Thus humanity was compartmentalised into various cultural categories.

Among the historians of the present age there is extreme dearth of the freedom from the passions generated prejudice born

of politico-economic considerations. Thus they have formed the notion that the creation of the Universe is only ten thousand years old and of this period of ten thousand years the first five thousand years were considered the pre-historic age and the later five thousand years as the historic age. At the same time it is the general practice to write history on the evidences of the senses further supplemented by the use of microscope, and telescope. As material science progressed more and more powerful microscopes and telescopes were invented. With the aid of such scientific instruments verities could be unearthed whose existence was not even suspected in the centuries past. Thus the span of the time of creation has expanded multi-dimensionally. It is now affirmed that creation is more than one billion years old. Thus the very basis of the history written on the assumption is only ten thousand years old has been shaken to its nadir-most foundation. Even in the opinion of such historians Ṛgveda and other Vedas are considered the oldost in the Sanskrit literature.

Thus even in the modern school of thought the culture preached by the Vedas and Smṛtis have been proven to be of the most ancient authenticity.

Thus we have the consensus on the influence of Sanskrit literature on the culture and civilization of humankind.

Taylor in his Paper on Sanskrit literature in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society has said that Sanskrit was not merely the sister among the developed languages of Europe, it was the Mother of them all. Sanskrit was the mother of all such languages which are considered the most developed languages by the Europeans.

Dr. W. Thomas has expressed the view that through the medium of Sanskrit we could study the inter-relations in the culture of the middle and east Asia whose theologies are based on Sanskrit.

Mahatma Gandhi advanced the view that boys and girls should cultivate the Sanskrit language and thus elevate our culture and life.

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has extolled the Sanskrit language as the fairest jewel of India. Our King Mahendra said :

"In the evolution of human civilization Sanskrit language has its own contribution. This can be very well realized when we reflect on how such noble thoughts and feelings have been unleashed

in the human heart during the Vedic ages and how even to-day we are being influenced by them. Without a basic knowledge of Sanskrit we cannot have a true insight into our thoughts and deeds. If we would care to scan the history of our education we must not fail to come to the conclusion that over a long time of its history our educational system has been based on Sanskrit. This fact has been borne out by all over insciptional evidences and tomes."

King Mahendra : Address to the Conferenee of Savants held in Dang on March 15, 1964.

The UNO has been established for the promotion of the cause of the Universal Peace and Welfare. To this end the propagation of the noble sentiments of mutual friendship and co-operation in the entire earth is compulsive. For this purpose the perfections of the Sanskrit language, its peerless philosophy and literature is very essential indeed. In the field of mathematics, public health, art, craft, politics, sociology and science, the contribution of the Sanskrit literature is not to be ignored. Because of the lack of a proper degree of enthusiasm on our part for enabling the Sanskrit language to flourish, as much contribution as could be made available by it, has not yet been generated.

But it is a matter of happy augury that the attention of the National Commission of the UNESCO of India, which is an organ of the UNO dedicated to the promotion of human welfare and prosperity, has been attracted to the question of the promotion of the glory of the Sanskrit language. I am of the view that right effort in this direction would not fail to bring in the overall welfare and peace among mankind. For this noble endeavour I extend our thanks to the UNO, UNESCO and the Indian National Commission of the UNESCO.

As long as the feelings of co-operation between one nation and the other, as between one individual and the other, do not pervade, the world peace is ever on the verge of destruction. The final solution of the problem of world tension lies in the propagation of the thoughts and ideals inherent in the Sanskrit literature.

From the ancient days of self-knowing kings like Janaka, savants like Yajñavalkya, ideal women like Sitā, women of erudition like Maitreyi and Gārgi and the great masters like Buddha, Nepal has been preaching the doctrine of sublime peace. Even in modern

times Nepal with her foreign policy of non-alignment and liberalism has been and shall continue to contribute to the promotion of the cause of universal peace.

At present Nepal stands in need of deeper education in science and technology for her speedier material advancement. Co-operation in this field is copiously forthcoming. In the matter of the propagation of the messages of love, peace and good-will Nepal shall never ag behind. Nepal has always been a votary of the philosophy and literature based on Sanskrit. This fact has been borne out by the libraries, museums and archaeologies, inscriptions, and Art and architecture. Nepal is firm in her conviction that the propagation of such culture and civilization would lead to the establishment of lasting peace on earth. Thank you ! Jayatu Saṁskṛtam !

SANSTHAN'S PUBLICATIONS

1. *Adhvaramīmāṁsā—Kutūhalavṛttiḥ*—Pt. I, II. III, IV Each part — Rs. 30.00
2. *Adhyayanamālā*—Pt. 1
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